

The Foundation Club

SUBBA RAO MEMORIAL LECTURES

1944-1945

UNIVERSITY

—:O:—

With a forward by

Dr. Amaranatha Jha ; M.A., D. Litt. ; F. R. S. L.,

Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad.

—:O:—

Edited by

SHANTISWARUP GUPTA, M.A.,

1945

University of Allahabad

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Dedicated

to

the memory of

The Late Prof. N. S. Subba Rao

Foreword.

I believe I first met Mr. N. S. Subba Rao in 1926 when he came here in connection with the Inter-University Board which was then in the first year of its existence. The acquaintance I formed then soon ripened into friendship and his sudden and unexpected end was to me a matter of profound grief. I shall not refer to his many gifts, his tact, his administrative skill, his wide and deep learning. He was a Professor of distinction, a strong Director of Education and a successful Vice-Chancellor. He was an excellent Chairman of the Inter-University Board. What I should like to refer to is his genius for friendship and his personal magnetism. It was a matter of great satisfaction to everyone that he was persuaded after laying down the reins of office as Vice-Chancellor of Mysore to accept the Professorship of Economics at Allahabad. Although he was here for only one session, he easily made his mark as one of the outstanding figures in the University and both his pupils and colleagues immediately came under the charm of his genial personality. His memory will long be cherished by all who knew him.

It is a most melancholy coincidence that the publication of this memorial volume in honour of one eminent Professor should synchronise with the passing away of another eminent Professor who has been associated with this club and had taken an active part in the promotion of the idea of this memorial volume. Dr. Beni Prasad was one of the foremost figures in the academic life of the country. To this University his services were of inestimable value. We shall deeply mourn the untimely death of a great scholar, an eminent teacher and a distinguished thinker who was held in the highest respect by everybody who knew him.

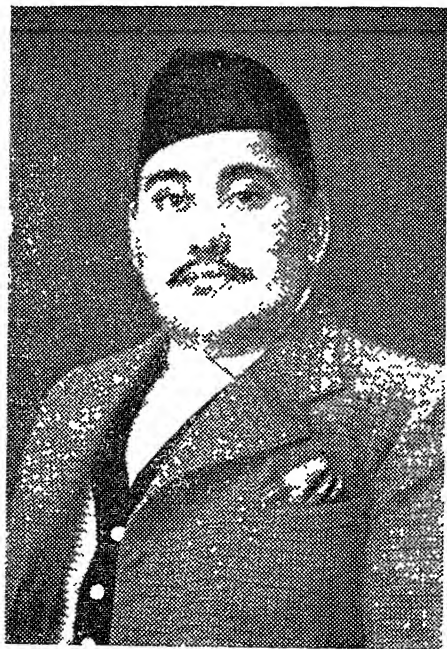
INTRODUCTION

It was on the 19th of June in the year 1943 that Mr. N S. Subba Rao, Professor of Economics in the University of Allahabad, departed from this world. In him the Foundation Club lost one of its most distinguished members. He was with us only for eight months, but, even in this short time, he succeeded in securing a permanent place for himself in our hearts. His death was felt as a personal loss by every member of the club. We resolved to publish the Subba Rao Memorial Volume to pay our tribute to his memory.

The lectures included in this Volume deal with some of the most important social, political, and economic problems with which we are confronted today and I take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to all the distinguished contributors. The views expressed by the writers are their own and the editor is in no way responsible for them.

Pandit Amaranatha Jha, our distinguished patron had promised to contribute a paper to this volume. It is our misfortune that sickness has prevented him from doing so. We pray for his speedy recovery.

I shall be failing in my duty if I did not express, on behalf of the Club, our profound sense of gratitude to Shri Subaran Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana for his kind donation of Rs. 150, to Rai Ram Charan Agarwala for a donation of Rs. 50 and to Dr. K. N. Katju for a donation of the Rs. 25 without which it would not have been possible to publish this volume. I am grateful also to Mr. Prakash Chandra Upadhyaya, M.A., the enthusiastic Secretary of the club, who spared neither time nor energy to make the publication of



**Col. Subaran Shamsher Jang Bahadur
Rana, (Nepal)**

(M. A. Final, Politics);

[Donated Rs. 150 towards the Subba
Rao Memorial Lecture Fund of the
Foundation Club.]

this volume possible and to Mr. Mohan Lal M.A, who kindly went through the proofs. I thank the Registrar of the Mysore University, who has been good enough to send us a brief life-sketch of the late Professor N. S. Subba Rao.

In the end I wish to assure Mrs. Subba Rao and the other members of the late Professor's family that we share their sorrow and we pray that God may grant peace to his soul.

We go to press under the shadow of a great calamity. We have just lost Dr. Beni Prasad, one of the founder members of the Club and Professor of Politics in the University of Allahabad. The ways of God are inscrutable. His will be done. We propose to publish a Memorial Volume next session as a token of the high regard in which we held him. And I take this opportunity of appealing to all the friends and admirers of the distinguished Professor to co-operate with us when we request them to contribute to the volume.

SHANTISWARUP GUPTA,

Department of History,
University of Allahabad.
April 16, 1945.

Master of Ceremonies,
The Foundation Club.

The Late Professor N. S. Subba Rao*

A Life Sketch

Mr. N. S. Subba Rao was born in 1885 at Seringapatam, a beautiful and historic island formed by the two branches of the river Kaveri. He was educated first in Mysore and Madras and then in the University of Cambridge where he took his History and Economics Tripos with honours. In 1909 he took the Barristers' course and was called to the Bar. He had the most distinguished academic record and he stood first in first class in the Middle School, High School and University Examinations. As a resident of St. John's College at Cambridge he came under the influence of John Marshall and J. M. Keynes whose teaching was always a source of constant inspiration to him.

Mr. Subba Rao returned to India in 1909 and shortly afterwards was appointed Professor of History and Economics in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, in which capacity he endeavoured to maintain the tradition of Marshall's teaching. His main object was to stimulate interest and capacity for original thinking among students. His teaching impressed itself on the memory like an engraving. He believed in the creative power of ideas, and encouraged love of knowledge and wide reading which he regarded as a sufficient warrant against inferior excitements. He expressed himself with chiselled finish in the class room. He was grave and impressive without becoming pompous or ponderous. Students used to marvel at his remarkable feats of memory, deep insight, clear-cut and well-balanced judgment which would neatly sift the essentials from the non-essentials in the most controversial economic and political problems of the day. He took

* By courtesy of the Mysore University.



**Rajkaryaprarian The Late Prof. N. S.
Subba Rao, M.A., Bar-at-Law.**
(Born 1885—Died 1943)

personal interest in each student and was lavish in giving financial assistance in all deserving cases. It was common talk that Mr. Subba Rao could remember the names of all the students of the College and recognise them outside the college after a lapse of years.

He was appointed Principal of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, in 1917 and for eight long years inspite of the strain of administrative work continued the teaching of Economics and inspired among the students respect for authority and discipline while maintaining his hold on their affection by his kindness and generosity. As regards the vexed question of the attitude of students to politics, he merely repeated his master Gokhale's advice "Bide your time." His principalship was great and his influence over several generations of students was striking.

In 1928 he was appointed Director of Public Instruction in Mysore. Among the reforms that he introduced, the most important was the introduction of Kannada as medium of instruction in the Middle and High School grades. He also cherished both Sanskrit and Hindi the claims of which received very sympathetic recognition at his hands. In 1937 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore from which post he retired in 1942. Very soon his valuable services were requisitioned by the University of Allahabad as Professor and Head of the Department of Economics. Before he had completed a year's service, his health failed and he returned home only to fall a victim to a brief illness.

Professor Subba Rao was a member of the Indian Tariff Board for Cotton Textile Enquiry 1926-27. He was President of the All-India Educational Conference in 1931. He was also Secretary to the Inter-University Board from 1925-1927 and Chairman of the same 1939-40. He was a member of the

Governing Council of the Tata Institute, Bangalore, as well as a member of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Though he was actively engaged in administration, his interest in Economic studies and Economic problems was as great as before. He was President of the Indian Economic Conference at Allahabad in 1929. He was President of the All Karnataka Sahitya Parishat at Bombay 1939, and he inaugurated the same year the Pracharopanyasa Mala series of which fifty-four volumes, similar to Benn's Series, have already been published in Kannada for the benefit of the Kannada people. Among his publications are:—"Economic and Political Conditions in Ancient India", "Vocational Education", and "Some Aspects of Economic Planning," the last being the series of lectures delivered by him in the Madras University as Sir William Mayer Lecturer. The Kirkabhai Premchand lectures on "Rural Reconstruction", which he delivered under the auspices the Delhi University, are now in the Press.

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in recognition of Mr. Subba Roa's services to the State conferred on him in 1938 the title of Rajakaryapravina. Altogether he served the state for a period of 33 years.



The Late Dr. Beni Prasad;
M.A., Ph. D., D. Sc. (LOND.)
(Born 19th February, 1895,—Died 8th
April, 1945.

The Late Dr. Beni Prasad

It is with great sorrow that I have to write an obituary note on my old friend and colleague Dr. Beni Prasad. I came to know him in 1917-18 when he was a student of M. A. Class at the M. C. College, and I was a Reader in the Department of Modern Indian History of the University of Allahabad. He used to come to take lessons from Prof. Rushbrook Williams. The professor was highly impressed by his ability and made frequent references to me in glowing terms. After passing his M. A. Examination he joined the Department and began to work on the history of the reign of Jahangir. For over two years he spent about two hours every day in discussing with me the problems of Mughal History in general and of the reign of Jahangir in particular. During this period of close contact I had ample opportunity of judging his character and personality. He was full of enthusiasm yet he kept restraint in his actions and speech. He preferred to hear rather than to speak. His early life and environments, his close contact with men like Bishop Westcott and the teachers of Christ Church Missionary College, and his intimate association with men like Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi had combined to impress on him indelibly the virtues of simple life, patriotism and strenuous work. Armed with these great qualities he bent his whole energy in the acquisition of knowledge. From 8 a. m. till 6 p. m. he worked in the Departmental Library. In two years he practically finished his work on the political history of the reign of Jahangir. He then began to work on the cultural history of his reign but after a year it was seriously interrupted by the work of teaching which devolved on the University after the dissolution of the M. C. College. He was called upon to teach British

History and politics. This change diverted his energies to the histories of Ancient Europe and Britain so effectively that he could never revert back to the field of Mughal history.

In 1923 he left for England with the reputation of the author of the History of Jahangir. He spent most of his time there in the study of the political theories and institutions of ancient India on which he proposed to write a thesis. Whatever time he could spare from the work connected with his thesis he spent in reading politics. When I joined him in 1924 I found him busy not only with his studies but also with practical political work. Although he was under the guidance of Mr. Harold Laski he was in close touch with other professors particularly Prof. Zimmern. He took keen interest in the general election and gave speeches on behalf of the Socialist party as an agent of Prof. Zimmern. Although the candidate for whom he had worked did not succeed yet Beni Prasad became a familiar figure among the Indian students and in the socialist circles in London. His experience of the working of party organization and of practical politics combined with his theoretical studies completed his political education and ultimately snatched him away from Indian history.

On his return to India he was appointed outright a Reader in politics and head of the newly constituted department of politics. For a couple of years he was busy in finishing his thesis for Ph. D. and D. Sc. respectively. After he had finished his job he gave his whole attention to the development of the department of politics which made rapid progress. Politics became a very popular subject and Beni Prasad a popular teacher. In 1929 he was appointed a Professor which raised the status of his department in the University. Thanks to the

labour and ability of Dr. Beni Frasad and his loyal colleagues the department soon came to be recognized as one of the finest in India.

For a variety of reasons Dr. Beni Prasad did not allow himself to be drawn in the vortex of University politics. His interest in it was limited to moderate and specific objects. He could thus steer clear of those pitfalls in which many a scholar is drowned. The surplus energy which he possessed he preferred to invest in writing and in the organization of the Progressive Club of which he was the founder. In this institution he brought together some of the best brains of Allahabad irrespective of party alignments. He was inclined towards the political ideology of the Congress but he was tolerant to the views of others and the club continued to serve as a rendezvous for men of all shades of views.

During his professorship Dr. Beni Prasad published his learned work on the Democratic Process. He wrote some popular books also. Among them his book in Hindi on the civilization of Ancient India and his books on current political problems—political reforms, communal problem are noteworthy. All these books are interesting and instructive. I cannot help expressing my deep gratitude to him for writing on the Hindu-Muslim question at my repeated request. In his last days he was engaged on writing a book on Federations.

The premature death of Dr. Beni Prasad at the age of fifty is a colossal loss to the University, the United Provinces, and to Indian scholarship. His simplicity of life, love of scholarship, unpretentious behaviour, humility and general sympathy had won the genuine admiration of all classes of men young and old, students, teachers and even lawyers whom it was his unpleasant duty to castigate. He was one of the massive pillars on which rested the moral and intellectual

reputation of the University of Allahabad. In his last years he was turning to be a believer in Sól and God. May God give peace to his soul.

R. P. TRIPATHI,
M.A., D. Sc. (London).
President of the Foundation Club.

April 2nd, 1945.

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Lecture I.

The University Spirit

By

PROFESSOR ISHWARI PRASAD, M.A., D. Litt., LL. B.
University of Allahabad.

[Born 1892 in Agra District; educated at Mufid-i-am High School and Agra College; M.A. in 1914, LL. B. in 1916; Second D. Litt. of the Allahabad University (1926); Professor of History, Agra College, 1914—1919; joined Allahabad University as Assistant Professor in February, 1919. Author of "History of the Qarauna Turks", thesis for the D. Litt. degree; "History of Mediæval India" (1926), translated into French under the guidance of Prof. E. Cavaignac of Strassburg University; "History of Humayun" (in the press). History of Muslim Rule in India. At present busy in revising his "History of the Mughal Empire (1526—1707)" in two volumes; and "Safarnamah of Ibn Batuta", translation from Arabic (English). This lecture on *The University Spirit* was delivered before the Foundation Club with Dr. Amaranatha Jha, M.A., D. Litt., F. R. S. L., Vice-Chancellor, in the chair.]

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let us turn the light inwards, in order to find out what we are and what we ought to be. In this age of sheep-like men and god-like leaders it is necessary to define the spirit that ought to pervade a University. The University is the state in miniature; it is the microcosm of the State and upon its right tone and spirit depends the welfare of the whole community. It is necessary to reaffirm our faith in true University ideals for we are living in an age when values have become anarchical, when men have lost faith, when all our standards have

gone down. Spangler has spoken of the "Decline of the West." We have seen how the best ideals of life have been cruelly smothered and how the mind has been enslaved and judgment paralysed to subserve the ends of dictatorship. In India too in the political, social, economic and the educational fields there is a sense of frustration that pervades the entire community. We feel stranded and our most thinking men are appalled by the difficulty of the problems that beset them. Of this great muddle different solutions are suggested by different men. Some have seriously put forward the extension of the imperial idea as the cure for all social ills. Race superiority is frankly claimed and the exploitation of weaker nations is intended as the aim and end of political endeavour. Some regard education as the panacea for all moral and social ills and hope that its re-organisation will bring about a new millennium. Then we have others who proclaim a change of heart and a return to religion as the surest means of ending the moral *debarcle*, which has overtaken the world. It is obvious that none of these things can supply a cure by themselves. One of the cures undoubtedly is education and we, university men, will do well to ponder over what change is needed in seeking a re-definition of university ideals. Already in our country post-war re-construction of education is in the air; new schemes and plans are about to be discussed. The report of the Education Board is before the public and high-placed officials of Government are endeavouring to find a *modus vivendi* by which to bring about reconciliation between the conflicting claims of a gripping imperialism and a growing desire for the rights of free citizenship.

Mr. Arundel recently described our education as a system of "forcible feeding," radically foreign and utterly mischievous in its results and asked very pertinently "what is the way

out of this *cul de sac*?" His answer was a new orientation of education along national lines in the interest of the individual who is educated so that he may rise to the full height of his stature and develop all his faculties so as to grow into a good man and a good citizen. Education has various phases and it is only one of its phases that we are going to consider to-day. The value of higher learning in national life must be fully understood and when we have grasped the fundamental idea we must try to define and determine precisely the spirit that ought to exist in a university.

The Greeks were the first to formulate the idea of a liberal education. The love of knowledge for its own sake found its first exponents among them. Education was to them an attempt to secure the development of personality on the thought-side. They examined its moral, intellectual and aesthetic aspects and were the first to experience a general truth in concrete embodiment. The earliest were the Sophists who laid stress on freedom in education; then came Socrates who said that the aim of education was to give knowledge to the individual by developing in him the power of thought. Knowledge according to him is the pure requisite of free action, the basis of right action in all the arts. Plato agreed with Socrates as regards the aim of education. In the Republic he develops the fundamental ethical principle that each individual should devote his life to doing that which by nature he is best fitted to do. He should attain to that which is the highest for himself and seek to bring about that which is the most useful for society. According to Aristotle the aim of education was happiness and goodness. He does not give us the details of higher education, though in the *Politics* he sketches the system under which the ordinary citizen is to be educated. From the rhetorical and philosophical schools of Greece emerged the

University of Athens where the highest arts and sciences formed the staple education of the citizens. The University of Alexandria long held aloft the torch of learning. In the 4th century B. C. under the Ptolemies it fostered higher learning and in its museums and libraries gathered seekers after knowledge from the various parts of the world. Here Archimedes of Syracuse carried on most of his researches and made many of his discoveries in physics. The Romans recognized the value of higher education, and the University of Rome founded by Vespasian fostered the study of law and medicine, but they did not do so much for education as the Greeks. In the middle ages the scholastic movement led to the founding of Universities and we read of such great seats of learning as Bologna and Paris. Bologna was made famous by one of her great teacher Irnerius as Paris was made famous by Abelard. Oxford and Cambridge came into existence later and did much to awaken thought and rouse intellectual curiosity. The universities profoundly influenced the life of the time. They allowed the largest amount of freedom in discussing religious and political questions and gave protection to free thought and speech. They pronounced authoritative judgments in doctrinal disputes and helped to determine the question of heresy. They gave a great impetus to intellectual life and afforded retreat to the scholars who kept alive the spirit of investigation. They created a desire for knowledge and kindled the spirit of enquiry and to them we owe the emergence of men like Roger Bacon, Dante, Petrarch, Wycliffe, Huss, Copernicus—the men who dispelled darkness, fought against superstition and ignorance, and ushered in the modern spirit. Since then the University life has grown stronger and stronger in the west and we find to-day all kinds of Universities trying not merely to raise men too higher levels of thought

but also to fit them for the role they have to play in life. In our own country learning was chiefly the product of the hermitage. In sylvan surroundings, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife" the Brahman teachers of old imparted to their pupils the highest knowledge. The *Upanishads* speak of the attainments of the Aryan sages of old and point out the results of the methods which they followed. The aim of education was the knowledge of the highest truth and the ultimate reality. The knowledge of the *Atman* was the desideratum. It depended on a dedicated life which was to be perfected by *tapa* and *Brahmacharya*. The *Taitteya Upanishada* contains a remarkable exhortation addressed by the teacher to his pupil at the time of his leaving the academy "Do not neglect the study, learning and the teaching of *Vedas*." The Spirit of learning was kept alive by conferences and discussions and what Yuan Chwang writes about the Nalanda University shows how thousands of scholars were engaged day and night in discussing some of the most abstruse doctrines as late as the seventh century A. D. The Great Buddha himself was an ideal teacher. He laid stress on humility, upright conduct and non-injury and his serene, gracious and majestic figure made a touching appeal to the hearts of millions of human beings. He said, "Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly." He urged truth as the highest objective and when he was about to shuffle off his mortal coil he said to his favourite disciple Anand: "Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth. Those who hold fast to the Truth among Bhikkus, shall reach the topmost height *but they must be anxious to learn.*"

Such was the ideal which our ancient teachers practised. The Chinese pilgrim tell us how the scholars of Nalanda were

looked upon as models by all-India, 'learning and discussing they found the day too short ; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection.' The pilgrim gives the names of the most renowned teachers Dharmpal and Chandrapal who difused the fragrance of the Master's teaching among the students and the wider public. All these were men of merit and learning adds Yuan Chwang and authors of several treatises widely known and highly valued by contemporaries

Is it possible for us to revive this spirit in modern Indian Universities ? Perhaps, not wholly. But it is clear that the times are out of joins, the world is in the throes of a terrible agony ; men, even educated men, have begun to accept false standards as the norms of their conduct. Imitation of the west has led to ruinous results. It will not therefore, be a waste of time if we sat down for a while to restate our ideals. As Goethe said long ago the object of education ought to be rather to form tastes than simply to accumulate knowledge. The University has a great role to play in the life of the nation and if its intellectual level is not high, then the state will suffer. The tone of the services as well as their efficiency will go down. We may set aside for a moment the utilitarian value of education, though it is by no means unimportant. The more essential function of the University is to impart intellectual culture, to educate the intellect and as Newman has said, to reason well in the matters, to reach out towards Truth and grasp it. It is to foster a talent for specialization and original enquiry, the habit of reducing things to first principles. Bacon says of culture, "It is the moral and social passion for doing good ; it is the study of pursuit of perfection. This perfection is the growth and predominance of our humanity-proper as distinguished from animality. Culture is perfection in all things."

Again it is not merely culture but higher knowledge that the University should aim at. A teacher in a university is quite different from a school. He must create around himself an atmosphere which will awaken thought, rationalise the mind and foster the spirit of investigation. He must pursue Truth. The great Lessing said, "If the Almighty were to offer me Truth in one hand, and the search for Truth in the other, I would unhesitatingly choose the latter." In a true University the professor must inspire ; he must evolve the personality of the pupil, and create in him the passion for exploring the uncharted seas of knowledge. This can be done by the closest co-operation of the teachers and the taught. Both must be engaged constantly as Lord Haldane said, in making their voyages of discovery. They cannot do so unless they live a dedicated life. It is important for a scholar to cultivate reverence for men who have trodden the same path before him, for giants who have toiled to climb the heights, to reach that eminence which can not be attained by softer means. Men like Aristotle, Plato, Newton, Goethe, Napoleon, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, and a host of others have their potent spell and by dwelling on their excellences even humbler men can rise to great heights. Intellectual and moral development must go hand in hand. If the moral side is dwarfed, if the scholar is proud, priggish. and conceited and adopts the attitude of *nil admirari*, his intellect will be merely an encumbrance and his knowledge, a useless burden which the sooner it is thrown away the better for all. The aim should be the highest level of excellence both for Professor and students. This can be reached only by frequent contact. The professor's labour must be one of love. He should not degenerate as he is apt to do in India into an officer. The truly learned man is he who knows his limits and if he does so, he will be able to

avoid that vulgarity and pride which arises from ignorance. If he is a great teacher, humble, human, generous, affectionate, pulling up his pupil to his level, he will have moulded the lives and the tastes of many of those who will sit at his feet. To live a dedicated life it is necessary to renounce pleasure. The rich man who can not free himself from the obsession of his riches can not reach the kingdom of heaven. Similarly if the scholar cannot free himself from pride, prejudice and pleasure, he will not be able to achieve much. He must learn to control and curb his appetites and impulses ; to wean himself away from enjoyment that lies outside the sphere of his work. This is the philosophy of the negative which we must accept and make a tremendous effort by our will to rise to a higher level and to cultivate a serious outlook. The mind grows in strength by renunciation. It acquires exhilarating influence by discarding pleasures and that is why sages and saints have dwelt on the uses of adversity. A strong mind will develop purposefulness in life and cultivate the habit of labour which after all is a mark of genius. Without concentration and singleness of purpose nothing great in the realm of thought or action can be achieved. Make your choice work with concentration and cherish the ideals that you must follow and according to your lights extend the frontiers of knowledge. Surely we can not all be heroes ; nor can we thrill the hemisphere with our actions. But we can all achieve the best which is possible for us, the goal of perfection that we set to ourselves. The University is a place of research where mind conspires with mind, where new ideas are constantly floated, and experiments nurtured and scholars are torn away from dogmatic slumber. The path is hard and steep and it is not every one who will be able to tread it. It will not do merely to repeat or listen to platitudes and maxims of sages. Those

of us who want the University Spirit to be fostered and maintained ought to remember what the Enlightened one said to Anand. They must also remember a great saying of Jesus:—

“Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven.”

The University in India must keep two other things in mind. Its work must be related to the larger life of the country. Those who pursue knowledge in cloistered seclusion should not forget the country and its claims. What happens at present in our country? The boy who receives education becomes practically dead to the village where he was born; he cultivates a dislike for the surroundings in which he was brought up; he wishes to avoid the poor and the ignorant people among whom he found his cradle. He is seized by the life of the town and the amenities which the latter affords. This is wrong. The University man's duty is to spread light, knowledge and truth and to combat the new and mischievous influence of those whom Morley calls ‘quackish fungoids’. Let us promote a sense of balance, of proportion, of understanding, always remembering the lesson which social history teaches us that true understanding is the salt which savours the whole life of the community. That being so, you must love your people, cherish them and do everything that lies in your power to elevate their lives. Remember what Bentham said: “If you want to win mankind, you must love them, and the only way to make them think that you love them is to love them in reality.”

This brings me to the other thing which the University ought to do. It ought to prepare its *Alumni* for leadership. In this connection as a student of history I cannot but refer to the work of the German Universities. Think of Fichte's

Addresses delivered in the 19th century and the fire they kindled in the German hearts. Think of the achievements of the German mind in the 19th century. How men working in the Universities raised their country to a high level and secured international recognition for their depth and wight ; we must develop in our youths the capacity for self-sacrifice, suffering and sustained work even amidst uncongenial and perhaps sometimes painful surroundings. Power of initiative, self-reliance, the quality of give and take, a desire to replace discord by harmony and good will, a readiness to see beauty and truth behind difficulties—these are some of the attributes of true leadership in this country and every one of us must give our thought to them. Do not think of levelling mankind; a leader cannot make a greater mistake than if he makes an attempt at intellectual or politics uniformity. To seek uniformity either in religion or politics is fatal and a true leader ought to avoid such a thing. Success in politics and government means the reconciliation of differences and conflicts, the discovery of truth amidst dogmatic divergences of opinion. A sane outlook is worth a library and one who woos the latter will have done so in vain if he does not acquire the habit of intellectual detachment and balance. Students in India need to grasp this fundamental truth about the human intellect which Bacon stated with his usual force and clarity :

“The human intellect is like a broken mirror ; it distorts what it reflects. It must be cleared and polished. It must be perfected against its fancies and fallacies.”

And now these rambling thoughts must come to an end with emphasis on one idea. Our education is unrelated to our life. It is absolutely devoid of religion at every stage. There is nothing more vital to a good life than faith in the Divine Reality.

Great men have said this. Plato and Wordsworth have spoken of faith which can make us quite different from what we are. Faith in your religion will give you faith in your purpose and in yourselves. I cannot do better than to place before you the words of the great poet :

“ We the brase, the mighty and the wise,

We men, who in our morn of growth defied the elements,

Are after all but playthings of the gods: enough

If, as towards the silent land we go,

Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,

We feel that we are greater than we know.”

Great men have been sustained by faith in the past; they will be sustained by it in future. Look at the power which Mahatma Gandhi's faith has given him against the battalions and armaments of an empire in which as the Jingo-Imperialists say the sun never sets.

Lecture II.

Old Wine in new bottles.

By

PROFESSOR R. P. TRIPATHI, M.A., D. SC. (LONDON)

University of Allahabad.

[Born 1890 at Muzaffarnagar; educated at Central Hindu College, Benares, and Government College, Lahore, M.A., 1914. Professor of History in Lucknow Christian College, 1914-16; joined Allahabad University in 1916; went to England in 1925-26 for his D. Sc. degree which he took from the London University in 1926. Author of “Some Aspects of Muslim Administration”, thesis for the D. Sc. degree; “Bhakti Movement”, (in the press); a book on Emperor Akbar (in preparation); presided over the Early Mediæval Section of the

Indian History Congress at Hyderabad in 1943; a Hindi poet, critic and scholar of repute. This lecture on *Old Wine in new bottles* was delivered before the Foundation Club with Mr. M. N. Rehman M.A., H. P. in the chair.]

Mr. President and Members of the Foundation Club,

By old wine here I mean a thing which has got some antiquity behind it; and by new bottles I mean the new forms which grow from time to time as civilisation moves on. The reason for selecting this subject was that at the present moment every one is discussing in the West, as well as in the East as to what should be our attitude towards the present civilisation, and what should be the type of civilisation to come.

We have different schemes from Evolution to Revolution and it is just in the fitness of things that we should pause to think what these words connote and how far can History help us in understanding the significance of these terms. I should like you to go back with me to those early days when humanity started on the unchartered seas and the first pulsation of civilisation began. At present, no doubt, people have got different theories. For example, some people have got racial theory. According to this theory every race has got its own inherent characteristics. It is a mystery how and why a race acquires certain characteristics. This mystery we find in the vegetable world also. It is a mystery why a race comes to develop a certain type. We do not feel satisfied by vague and indefinite explanations. We want something concrete, something definite, which we can intellectually understand. Therefore I would suggest that the idea of racial peculiarities is another name, rather convenient name for the peculiarities due to environment and geography.

Whatever differences between man and man might have been in the beginning, the one factor which determined the

evolution or growth of man and civilisation was the geographical one. I do not propose to enter into a full discussion of the influence of Geography on man. But I have been led to the conclusion that all aspects of man—physical, intellectual, economic, moral, artistic—are determined by geographical conditions. People of one part of the world happen to be weak. It is due entirely to geographical conditions. Some people seem to be more aggressive, while others do not. Take another example ; yellow colour is associated with the Chinese and the Japanese ; white colour is associated with the people of Europe and some other parts of the world ; red colour is associated with the people of America and dark colour is associated with those who live along the tropics. The distinction in colour is largely geographical. There is nothing that can explain more satisfactorily the colour difference. Of course, in ancient times, geography had too much to say. It is only during modern period that to some extent we have managed to get out of the clutches of geographical environment, chiefly due to the development of fast means of communication. But the original foundations of our peculiar civilisation, culture or characteristics were laid in the remote times of which history has very feeble recollection.

Secondly, certain people are more mobile than the others. For example, in a cold climate, one requires more covering, more clothes, more fuel, more food. Now, a desire to get these necessary things of life compel men to show greater energy, and to do something more than the people of different clime. In warm climate you do not require these things so much, and so men do not feel it necessary to put so much energy and so much effort in getting the necessities of life. Again people living in a particular geographical environment are compelled to behave in a certain fashion. That behaviour

leaves a certain tradition which passes from generation to generation and for centuries; till it becomes the characteristic of those people. In this way group characteristics are formed and in the course of time when people begin to know one another they notice the distinction between different groups. In the course of centuries or millenia, they reach a stage of civilisation which gives those people definite characteristics. Their civilisation acquires definite channels. It begins to flow in given lines and traditional life. Later on, this stream is disturbed by a variety of circumstances. Changing geographical condition, for example, compel people to leave their homeland and go on voluntary exile. They go in search of food, in search of necessities of life.

There may be other factors also. For example, invasion by a powerful group. Such conflicts create slightly different situation. They disturb the normal life of a community living under certain geographical conditions. These variations are fairly classified, in certain heads though not quite exhaustively and scientifically. There are people who have been completely destroyed by the invader. Such cases are found in Ancient History as well as in Mediaeval and in the beginning of Modern History. The best example of such cases is that of Red Indians, of the people of Mexico, such people were totally destroyed. Their community practically disappeared from the stage of the history.

Then we can imagine those who were numerically weak. And because they happened to be numerically weak they were overwhelmed by the avalanche of an invasion. Such cases are also to be found. Greece was a small country and the Greeks formed a community. After their defeat by the Romans the Greeks left their culture, but mixed with the conquerors completely. Take the case of Romans. The

Romans were numerically weak. They were flooded by the avalanches of the Tutoic, the Mangolian and other peoples. They tried to recover their individuality and glory once more but they could not gain their old position.

Then we pass on the third group of people who happened to be numerically strong and culturally advanced : Even after defeats they cannot swept off easily. After the shock of invasion fades off then begun to resume their normal life. In a nation's life obstructions do come but they have to be dealt with according to the nature of obstructions. Such examples are found the Persians and Indians. These are two countries which were conquered by the invaders more than once but they managed to survive.

Finally let us take the Chinese and Japanese. They were never conquered and therefore posses an unbroken line of harmonious, consistent and synthetic culture. We can distinguish their culture from the culture of the rest of the world. They are still intact in spite of the advent of European civilization. They are still more or less working on the old lines with modifications forced on them by changing time and growing experience.

In India and Persia changes have not been identical. In Persia we find that the conquered people, changed their religion but maintained their culture. In India, people did not change their religion. They maintained their numerical superiority and social structure. They did not change either their culture or their religion. Therefore, they could not be swept off or absorbed by the invaders.

India had to deal with a variety of invaders. There were those who were almost barbarians. We succeeded in dealing with them. Instead of being overwhelming by such invaders

the Indians managed to overwhelm them. We imposed our own culture gradually on them and absorbed them in our own life civilisation and culture.

India had to deal with very civilised communities also. For example, the Greeks were more civilised in certain respects than us but they were numerically weak and in course of time we overwhelmed them. The Greek culture could not impose itself on our culture. We maintained our integrity culturally and religiously and managed to impose our culture as well as our religion on the Greek invader.

Then we had to deal with the Moslem invader who was strong both culturally and religiously. The Moslems had a definite of individuality in religion, civilisation and culture ; and therefore they created one of the toughest problem of Indian History. I am not quite sure whether that problem has yet been worked out completely. I believe that substantial steps have already been taken, much progress has been made, yet there is room for further progress and energetic effort is needed to solve that problem. That is the present situation with which we are face to face.

I am turning to some other aspects. We are told that the new civilisation or the new culture is entirely different from the old one. We must bid good-bye to old civilisation and culture and must start building anew. This is only possible by creating what is called a revolutionary mentality, a revolutionary sense. As soon as this word "revolution" is used, evolution also comes up to our mind. I do not propose to refer you to Webster's Dictionary or to other dictionaries for the meaning of these words. I am only telling you the meaning which I would like to put on these words particularly with reference to my lecture this evening. By Evolution I mean the progress of normal organic life. By Revolution I do not

mean the destruction of the foundation of organic and normal life or change of the very anchor-sheet of civilization which has grown in the course of centuries and millennia. By Revolution I mean the destroying of the obstacles that stand in the way of normal organic life. This is how I would interpret the Evolution and Revolution. So when I say, that we must possess a revolutionnry mentality I mean that we should destroy as quickly as possible any obstruction or obstructions that interfere with the progress of normal life. I have pointed out to you that the foundations of life and culture were laid in the very beginning of humanity, those foundations were determined by geographical and other circumstances. In this life there was consistency just as we find in organic things. In organic things one stage leads to the other. This is the process we find in organic life ; and also in the life of the people or communities. This organic life is obstructed by certain things. But dynamic life must flow on. If there is an obstruction to flowing water it finds its level by removing or negotiating the obstruction. When the force of water is very great even rocks and boulders are swept off. The same applies to obstructions, to national life. Such obstructions are destroyed precisely by the vitality of national life with the help of human ingenuity. But it is never a fundamental change, it is the continuation of the stream onwards and onwards to which direction nobody can say.

There are different philosophies of history. So far I am not in a position to make any categorical statement. By progress I only mean the organic transformation, to what end I do not know. But we must destroy all those things which interfere with the operations of organic life. They must be removed and the organism should be allowed to work its own destiny. Once we come to this conclusion our attitude towards

Revolution is likely to be changed. I hold that it is humanly impossible to change the foundations of civilisation. The civilisation has grown, it was not deliberately created by any person, or any community. It is the cumulative result of action and reaction of man and nature. Now the civilisation which has taken so many centuries in certain environments finds its growth obstructed. This obstruction cannot be removed by putting forward certain dogmatic views and theories about the aim and objects of human progress or its destiny. The only thing we have got to do is to remove the obstacles so that the stream of organic life may flow onwards.

In this connection it is urged that the conditions of the world have considerably changed, that there is no connection between the conditions of the past and the conditions of the present. For example, time and distance were a great obstacles in old days. But distance has been annihilated. This annihilation of distance has created a new situation which is very different from any other known before. I am not prepared to admit, the proposition without qualification for the difference between the old and new conditions is not qualitative but quantitative. For example, before the nineteenth century contact was limited. One particular community attacked the other community and the attacks was confined to these two communities. In the present circumstances instead of coming only in touch with one community, we are simultaneously in touch with so many communities. Before, the contact was confined to two or three communities, now it is established with twenty. In those days the change was comparatively slow, now, it is very rapid. This is the only difference which exists to my mind between old and the new circumstances. The problem is essentially the same. Did the old invaders change entirely the civilisation especially of those people

who were culturally strong, numerically strong or religiously strong? They may have changed anything, but they have not changed the essential characteristics of those people.

Take the history Persia. We find the Persians did change in many respects. The change was substantial, but in spite of the change the Persian culture and the Persian civilisation only took a new form when it changed. Similarly we have also changed in certain respects, in certain aspects, but the spirit and to a considerable extent the form continued without losing its originality, its individuality and its distinctive features. In these present circumstances we also expect a similar change. We may put forward any solution to deal with changing problems but I have no doubt that India must and will maintain its individuality in spite of any change of form. For I do not know in history of any powerful people, numerically culturally and religiously strong undergoing a complete and fundamental, transformation. It will not be possible to bring about a change radically different from the nature of the civilisation which is at the back of the Indian people. I believe that we are face to face with certain obstacles-political, economic and social which have obstructed the natural and organic growth of our life. The life of the people is not extinct for various reasons. The life pulsates there, it wants to go forward but is faced with certain difficulties. Now according to my definition of Revolution the sooner you destroy these obstacles, the better for you for it will save energy and time which can be utilized for creative purposes. Revolution consists in the removal of obstacles.

What are the important problems? They are political, social and religious. In politics the problem is very clear. You all understand that we are the only civilised people who suffered from a stream of foreign domination, we are the only slave country among the countries in the

world. This is very very tragic indeed, but there it is. The first thing that we have got to do is to deal with this situation. All political obstacles should be removed immediately. Once you get power in your hands, you can quickly make progress and adjust your things and set your house in order as you like. *Political power is most essential, even more essential in my estimation than economic or social. Therefore political problem must receive precedence.*

Then we come to the economic problem. At present we know in the name of the economic factors in history broad statements of all kinds are made. I am not concerned very much with this variety of statements. I only want to place before you my own views whatever they are worth. In the economic realm we find that the distribution of wealth and the means of production have gone wrong and it is necessary that the distribution of wealth should be on a rational basis. We cannot except that wealth would be equally divided. It is expecting too much. I am not prepared to expect that. If it is done, it will be done by force and anything that is done by force is unnatural. I consider force a very unnatural phenomenon. The only force that I recognise is the force of the Laws of Nature. Therefore any scheme that can be maintained by force is not going to be helpful, on the other hand it will do harm. A rational economic arrangement is called for immediately. All painful angularities and sharp distinctions should go. Every man has got a right to live under conditions which are respectable and worth living. If you want the life of a nation to progress on healthy lines, you should not leave sickly spots in your economic structure.

The third problem before us is social. Our society suffers from social rigidity. Rigidness in human body suggests that the circulation of blood is not normal, that there is obstruction

in the joints and the muscles do not function properly. Stiffness is rigidity in normal life. There should not be rigidity, stiffness either of the individual or of the nation. The proof of your perfect health lies in the fact that you are free in your movement of your organs. Stiffness in social organisation is a pathological condition which requires attention.

Thus we have seen that political, economic and social obstructions are interfering with our organic growth, with the natural flow of life stream. Now in dealing with these problems what are we to do. If we want to cut off ourselves entirely from the past, if we want to change the very basis and foundations of our civilisation, we will be wasting our energy in aiming at the impossible. Such an effort will be against all laws of nature, all known human experience. If this is not possible, we have got to find out from the springs of our life, of our people the principles on which organic progress is possible.

To tell the people of India that religion is humbug is to waste your time and the time of the people. Here for good or for evil this idea has found very strong roots. It has gone so deep in the people of this land that you cannot persuade them to give up religion. Similarly to tell them that caste system should go is to invite a conflict with them, it is too much for them. Therefore this kind of propaganda will not help. These two things have got to be spared for the time being. You will find that poverty in India did not necessarily mean a terrible misfortune. Now a days poverty is a terrible misfortune. Yet we do find in our country people taking the vow of poverty. Probably their intention is something else. It was based on a view of growth, a well-thought out, carefully thought out conception in which distinction did not exist on the basis of wealth. Why must in this country also wealth must be the basis of

distinction. A poor man suffers because he does not enjoy any social status. he does not enjoy any political privileges, he does not enjoy the blessings of education and so on and so forth. That was not the case in India. But new conditions have arisen new economic forms have come into being. If we could evolve out some economic social orders which are quite in keeping with our past civilisation and culture, our progress will be very rapid. So far as wealth is concerned there should be proper distribution and that wealth should not be the basis of social distinctions. I consider these two things as very essential for any future reconstruction.

With regard to social life, simply the accident of birth in a particular community should not be considered a matter of disqualification, because that view is not quite in keeping with the best traditions either of Islam or even of Hinduism which is said to be caste-ridden. You know their conception of a body-politic did recognise the importance of every part of the body. You know persons born in lower classes have risen to the highest position in the State, in business and spiritual life. We have got here cases when people of the lower caste could receive universal recognition for their spiritual quality. We have found here people of lower classes acquiring wealth and becoming rich. All these things are possible. We do not attach so much importance to this accident of birth. At present, in modern Indian society we are suffering more from the wreckage of Mediævalism. The evils of mediæval times seem to offer greater obstacles than anything else. Modern problems have just begun to grow upon us and we shall deal with them as time progresses. But first of all we should get away from mediæval obsessions, from the atmosphere which was of the static world when the normal progress of life was obstructed by certain circumstances

over which probably we had no control. Those circumstances undoubtedly changed. Therefore we must get away from them. We cannot expect to bring back the old civilisation ; for that will be against the spirit of the times. Forms will change and will continue to change but the spirit of the people survives. Forms are bound to change and change for good is the law of normal life. The spirit of civilisation and culture of the Hindus and also of the Moslems — is perfectly healthy and sound. But we are faced with serious obstacles which we have to remove. Our progress will take many forms. We need not be afraid of forms. As we progress our thought changes, our behaviours changes. Forms of certain things change ; the form of a plant is different from the form of the seed and that of a grown-up tree. But essentially the tree is in the seed and probably the seed is in the tree. In this way the spirit of our civilisation must go on. What you have got to do is to adjust things in the light of your individuality, in the light of your civilisation, in the light of your culture, then you will have a wider understanding, you will not have to exert force to compel people to behave in a given fashion. The people will spontaneously and automatically react to those new environments and circumstances. But if you bring a new brand scheme unheard of in the history of your country, you will be only dashing against a wall of steel and you will not make any substantial progress, you will be wasting your time and energy and you will be losing the opportunity. You have got to take the time by forelock. You cannot allow these obstacles for a long time lest they should make the stream of organic life more fettered. You must get ready to have a clear idea of fundamental things. You must keep the old wine, your spirit intact. You will certainly require new bottles, new

arrangements, new methods of distribution. This is what I meant when I particularly chose the subject, of my address this evening.

Lecture III.

Basic Conditions of Federalism and International Organisation

By

The late DR. BENI PRASAD, M.A., PH. D., D. SC.,

Professor of Politics, University of Allahabad.

[A short life sketch of the late Dr. Beni Prasad is given at the end of the Volume.]

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let us for the sake of simplicity begin with the Aristotelian saying that man is a social animal in the sense that he can live only in society, in sense that his requirements can be fulfilled only through conjoint effort. And in the yet deeper sense that man can realise his potentialities, can develop his faculties only in terms of relations with others. If a man is proud and vain, for instance, he requires association so that he may look down on others. If he is humble and full of reverence, he requires association in order that he may show their attitudes towards those whom he recognise as his superiors. The development of personality is possible only in terms of human relations. It is in this deepest sense, that man is to be regarded as a social being. As a social being he must live together in associations and these associations in their turn co-operate among themselves and so there arises an area of common life, a community, so to say which consists of many associations, the family, functional associations and so forth, community consists of many associations that stand in

various relations with one another. There may be associations within associations, so forth. Writers have divided associations into many categories, for instance, kinship associations, functional associations, philanthropic associations, provident associations, religious associations, cultural associations and above all political associations.

Political Associations : The political association par excellence is the state which arises to keep the ring for the inter-play of social forces : it arises to safeguard liberty, to preserve order, it arises for the fulfilment of certain requirements or the only possible basis of conjoint effort. Here then is an area of a common life to be distinguished on the one hand from associations within the state and on the other hand to from wider circles of co-operation. Here I am using the word community in the political sense, the sense in which it is used in sociological literature. It is a sad commentary that we in India should have assigned to the term communal a meaning which is the reverse of what it often appears in sociological literature.

That is how communities and states arise. But it is soon discovered that a state cannot live a life of autarchy, or self-sufficiency. If its members are to develop their personality to the height of which they are capable, if they are to exploit the resources of the earth to the fullest extent, they are also to enjoy security and order on a wide scale. it is necessary that states should co-operate. That is the beginning of alliances among states. Now alliances have existed from very ancient times and cover a wide range. There may be offensive and defensive alliances or alliances for merely specific objects, alliances for co-operation in various departments of association activity. An alliance which lasts long and is equipped with an appropriate constitutional mechanism becomes an association.

So from alliance states can move to association. Such an association may in times of crisis, for instance in times of war, assumes some of the attributes of a community for political purposes. For instance, the Allied and associated powers in the War of 1914 and the United Nations in the War of 1939, they formed something like association, such an association is something more than an alliance: it is not a confederation or federation, as I shall be making clear in a minute, but it is an association. The example par excellence of associations as distinct from alliance on the one hand and distinct from confederation or federation on the other hand is the League of Nations which started on its career at 1220, had a glorious run for five years from 1924-1929 and then began to decline until it dropped to zero on the eve of the war. The League of Nations consisted of more than 50 States at a time, it laid various obligations on the member states, it had an Assembly as a forum of deliberation ; a council, as something in the nature of an executive organ ; a permanent court of international justice to adjudicate disputes between various countries and also to give advisory opinion. It established a large number of technical organisations for transit and communications, for the performance of some humanitarian tasks and for organising economic arrangements. It had a regular secretariat. Here you are in the presence of something which is far more advanced than an alliance and yet the League of Nations was not a state. It was not a super-state ; it was an international organisation, but it was not a confederation, it was not a federation either.

From an association, however, the States can advance to what is called a confederation. It is desirable to distinguish between the meanings of the two terms, federation and confederation. You will sometimes have seen it stated that a

confederation is a loose form of federation. That is, however, is not the precise difference. The crucial point is that confederation consists of states and deals with states with the government of the states as such and does not deal directly with the citizens. Take for instance, one of the most important functions or attributes of Government, the fiscal function, the power to levy taxes. Now a confederation will not tax the citizens directly but will only receive contributions from the governments of the states which are members thereof. Secondly, the confederation will decide disputes that may arise between the governments of any two or more component units but it will not sit as a court of justice to decide cases or disputes that may arise between citizens. Similarly, a confederation will lay down rules for the observance of the governments of the component units but will not rule directly over the people. This is the difference between a federation and a confederation. Obvious examples of confederation are the New England Colonies from 1776 to 1789 ; the Swiss Cantons up to 1848, in a sense up to 1874 ; and the North German Confederation organised by Bismarck which lasted from 1866 to 1871. Here you have confederations. But it is possible for a confederation to develop into a federation. For it is soon perceived that security must be organised in a very systematic manner and there must be power directly to levy taxes. It is then perceived that economic regulation is desirable so that a large free trade area may be created. I need scarcely go into details. It is clear how a confederation can develop into a federation, can become a state with an executive, legislature and exchequer touching directly the lives of the people. In such a federation, then, powers and functions are divided between the Central Government and the Governments of the component units. One need only mention modern federations

like the United States, the Dominion of Canada, the Australian Commonwealth and the German Empire from 1871 to 1918. Lastly, there may be a tendency—for a federation to progress towards a unitary state. The federation so to say, may swallow up confederates and stand forth as a single unitary state. In a unitary state itself there may be large powers conferred on local bodies, district boards and municipal boards. In such a case you have a decentralised state. Or there may be down right centralisation. In that case you have a centralised state. But this distinction between centralised and the decentralised states has nothing to do with the division into federation and confederation. I pointed out that under certain circumstances it is possible for a federation to move towards unitarianism. This is exemplified in the career of the German Republic. As a matter of fact the progress of Germany illustrate all tendencies—utter disintegration, alliance among states, associations, confederation and federation. The Weimar Republic from 1919 onwards was more a unitary state than a federation. Finally in 1933 National Socialism came into power and abolished the elements of federalism. For all practical purpose today Germany is a highly centralised unitary state. Here you have progress from utter disintegration to the completest political unification. But it must be pointed out that as a rule a federation does not develop into a unitary state. The United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil, Mexico, Switzerland all have remained federations

So much then about the classification. What are the basic conditions and what are the tendencies which these federations and also the confederations display? The attempt to answer this question takes in back to the proposition that man requires freedom to grow, freedom of religious belief and worship, freedom of using his own language, cherishing his own

literature, freedom of association and public meeting, subject of course to public order and public morality. Freedom is the essence of life. Without freedom there is no development and this freedom is to be understood not in a merely negative sense but in the positive sense. In the negative sense freedom is only absence of restraint. But we are using the term freedom in a fuller sense. It is what the late Professor Graham Wallas called continuous initiative, not merely absence of restraint but the power to initiate thought, the power to express, the power to act, of course with due regard to the interests of others, but there must be initiative and there must be effective and maximum opportunity of development, effective in the sense that it must not be merely a scheme on paper; maximum in the sense that it must be as wide as the culture of the community or the situation in which it finds itself. Effective and maximum opportunity is positive freedom in its fullness. This freedom has to be secured, it is therefore necessary to devise political arrangements so as to leave the maximum of opportunity, the maximum of initiative, to the people.

"Federalism is a two-fold desire to ensure the substance of such liberty on the one hand and also furnish means for its preservation against attack on the other. For liberty as Nevinson used to say, has to be won every day. A community, an association or an individual that may be free at one moment must safe-guard the future. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Conditions have to be maintained that would be favourable to the maintenance and the development of liberty. That is eminently desirable because of the plane on which human life only too often moves. If all men were reasonable and always ready to co-operate among themselves, there would scarcely be any need of restrictions. There would not be

much need of government either. But unfortunately human nature is a queer thing and requires a great deal of sublimation, a great deal of enlightenment, a great deal of moral and spiritual endeavour. Mankind have not yet attained to these standards of spirituality, morality and enlightenment. Accordingly politics have usually been dominated by the conception of power. Here emerge two purposes—two objectives that political effort can set before itself. There is the objective, first of all, of securing those conditions that are favourable to growth, favourable to continuous initiative, effective and maximum equality of opportunity. Secondly you have to provide also for the defence of those conditions—I mean they must be effectively secured to every one. You must fight those tendencies that militate against the developement of personality, that militate against the enjoyment of rights by various peoples. So politics becomes a search for security—that indeed is one of the fundamentals in all political life. But unfortunately politics has been dominated also by the concept of power. There is a saying of a living writer, a scientist as well as a philosopher—Bertrand Russell—that the concept of power is as fundamental to politics as that of energy to physics. The concept of power is fundamental to politics because various classes, groups, castes, states or races have been trying to exploit others, to lord it over them for their satisfaction for their passion for superiority, their vanity to lord it over others also for the sake of tangible economic advantages, to lord it over others again merely by sheer force of tradition and ownership. The search for security has been deflected from its full purpose in many cases by this passion for power. This passion for power has been running wild in history. Force has been one of the most important features in all human history. It has been associated with diplomacy, propaganda

deception and so forth. The situation is well summed up by a modern sociologist named Ferrers when he says civilisation so far has been dominated by force and fraud. It has not yet risen to the level of persuasion, and a consistent moral and spiritual endeavour. The epigram of Ferrero, like most epigrams, is an exaggeration. Human life would not continue if we are dominated merely by force and fraud. There are other forces—fellowship, sympathy, co-operation. etc. But the point is there are evil tendencies also present in human relationships, especially in relations between various communities.

In this connection let me recall to you another expression very often used in sociology—consciousness of kind, coined by a famous sociologist Giddings—Consciousness of kind means that some people may feel at home with, and form one community with those who follow the same religion or those who inhabit the same country. There may be a consciousness of kind very intense within the circle of a caste, a sect, a racial segment etc. This consciousness of kind has displayed all possible degrees of variation and intensity. Let us put these things together—the search for security, the passion for power and limitations of the consciousness of kind. We are here in the presence of conditions that make for a great deal of conflict and that also make for a great deal of co-operation. This conflict in modern times has raged primarily round the entities of race and nation. There is perhaps no such thing as a pure race anywhere in the world. But the belief in race is a fact of the first significance. And partly on the basis of real or fancied community of race, partly on the basis of a community of religion, language or culture, historical tradition, economic necessities or aspirations, has sprung the feeling of nationality. Nationality is pre-eminently a modern development. The Ancients knew nothing

of nationality, nor the Middle Ages. Nationality begins in the 14th century in England. It becomes an idea in the 18th century, a pre-possession after Napoleon and finally a dogma in the 19th, to quote John Morley. That was the history of nationality in Europe from the 14th or 15th century to the 19th century. But even while the enthusiasm for nationality was at its height, if it might some acute observers pointed out that very serious problems. Acton in 1862 published an essay on nationality which is still quoted. Some very apposite reflections in Nationalism by our own poet Rabindranath Tagore.

The sentiment that nationalism represents is a particular consciousness of kind on a very complex basis. Nationalism has had a cultural side as well as a political side. Pre-eminently, nationalism had been a political force. The urge of nationalism has been that those who feel themselves to be a single nation are entitled to form a single state and that this state should be independent of all foreign control. This is the political programme of nationalism. But there is also a cultural side to nationalism and if the two aspects are confused, that is, if the political aspect is confused with the cultural aspect, then it may come to mean that those who constitute this state ought to have the same culture, perhaps the same religion, in any case the same language, cherish the same ideals and the outlook on life. In this context then nationalism resolves itself into an effort at assimilation of minorities by the majority. For instance, in the German Empire, in the Czarist Russia, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as in the Balkan States, it has been pointed out by some observers in Europe, for instance, by Sir Alfred Zimmern. Here you must try to dissociate the concept of nationhood from the concept of state. That is to say, statehood is political

and administrative, while nationhood is cultural and spiritual. It is argued by these writers that the two should be kept apart. They point out that if there are people who feel themselves to be a distinct nation, it does not follow that they should form a single state much less a single unitary state, or that there should be in that state no minorities who follow different cultures or speak different languages. In other words, there are two different concepts of nationality. Here arise controversial issues. But for the present I want you just to put these two interpretations of nationalism clearly before you, the exclusively political concept and the cultural concept. The argument is that if you confuse the two, if you confuse the political with the cultural side of nationalism, the result is oppression of all minorities in the sense that their culture is often attacked by the majority. It provokes discontent and extra-territorial loyalty. There is, however, a way of obviating this confusion and heart-burning. That solution is furnished by federalism. The solution, that is to say, is that for purposes of defence and order in the last resort, it may be for also purpose of economic development, various nationalities may combine into a state, may combine into a federation, but on the other hand they may remain separate states, they may retain their autonomy so far as cultural matters are concerned or economic activities are concerned or the ordinary affairs of life are concerned. Federalism itself represents a compromise or rather a happy union between the cultural concept of nationalism and the political concept of nationalism. Of course, the compromise can take a variety of forms. In the second place it may be pointed out that other causes may also lead to federal organisation. Extent of territory, as in Australia and Canada; makes for federalism. But above all the task that federalism primarily sets before itself is the

reconciliation of group autonomy with the conjoint provision for wider interests. The late Professor Dicey observed that federation arises when two or more communities want union but not unity.

Now science has brought the world to a stage of development when all notions are affected by the same currents of economies and war. Peace is indivisible: wars have also become indivisible. If there is to be peace in a region, there must be peace everywhere. Security can now be organised only on the worldwide scale. For economic purposes the world seems to be flowing into the same orbit. There is a great deal of cultural intercourse. Here, then, arises a wider problem of international fellowship. Will it be possible to retain the advantages of independent statehood and yet gain the advantages of conjunction in international relations. Attempts have been made in the past without any success at establishing a sort of confederation. The underlying idea on the political side is collective security. There is another idea at work, that of economic co-operation. But the predominant concept in international organisations is collective security. You find a very rough scheme of collective security for Europe in the document which perhaps was drawn up by the Duc de Sully and ascribed by him to his sovereign King Henry IV of France in the beginning of the 17th century. It is scheme of collective security on a regional basis. Similarly in 1715, shortly after the Peace of Utrecht, the Abbe' de Saint Pierre wanted an association, something almost a confederation, so that the Turks might be driven out of Europe and war may be prevented among Christians. After the fall of Napoleon there was formed a Holy Alliance. In the latter half of the 19th century then an alliance among arose the concert of Europe, an attempt Russia, France, Britain, Germany and Austria to

keep the peace in the Balkans. Finally, the World-War I, 1914-18 was followed by the League of Nations.

The League of Nations failed. The approaching end of the second world-war has stimulated the search afresh for some form, a more durable and a more effective form of international organisation. It is at this juncture when many minds in Europe and the United Nations have been moving from the idea of international association like the League of Nations to a sort of confederation. There is, for instance, a book of Clarence Strett published before the war and styled "Union Now." He wanted the democratic states to set up something like a confederation to which other states may gradually be drawn. It would be furnished with a sort of legislature, a sort of executive, etc. The *Union Now* in 1940 is *Union with Britain*. Other schemes are also in the field but some obvious difficulties presented themselves. I said in the beginning that it is freedom that matters in life, that it is of the essence of life ; all people are entitled to freedom of development. That is really the basic condition, that is the justification of federalism or a confederalism. That is the moral basis for federalism, This moral basis is lacking at present its absence is responsible for the failure of schemes of confederation. This absence is really responsible for the reluctance in many quarters to proposals for a confederation that will embrace the whole world.

What are then the basis conditions of international federacy ? The first condition obviously is that every people should be recognised as entitled to freedom, freedom of development in economic cultural and political matters. It means, an end of exploitation, of colonialism or imperialism. Whatever the term used, the condition is freedom for all men, for all races. universal freedom. So long as colonialism or

imperialism endures, there is no basis for a federation of mankind, as distinct from a federation of some nations. It cannot achieve the objectives that it has in view. It will fail in its objective because security and economic comfort can now be provided only through a world-wide cooperation ; they have to be provided on the world-wide scale. This condition as I pointed out is lacking at present. So we find European statesmanship fighting shy of the idea of universal confederation. At the most their minds seem to be revolving round a sort of association. Some writers have tried to formulate a few schemes but they are confronted with some obvious difficulties, What about representation in any legislature or executive that may be set up ? Is the weight of representation to be proportionate to population ? If so, it means that the coloured peoples would command the greater weight than the white peoples. Lionel Curtis accordingly proposed a short while ago that representation should be not in accordance with population but with taxable capacity. Seriously it has been discussed that the richest nations should be entitled to the highest representation. I need scarcely go into details. It penalises poverty. Then it is a shifting basis for riches may change sides. Secondly, it has been proposed by Sir George Young, for instance, there should be federation of states populations between 5 and 10 millions. What about the bigger states and what about the smaller ones ? He proposed the bigger states should be decentralised, and the smaller states should federate, so that you will have units between 5 and 10 million people. I need scarcely point out that a scheme of this kind is too queer to find acceptance.

Finally, there is the Dumbarton Oaks Conference Plan. This plan has attracted the widest attention, because the leading statesmen have been associated with it. Firstly it should be

observed that it has nothing to do with colonialism or imperialism or economic exploitation. There is indeed a clause which means that the conferences, or the organisations that may be set up will have nothing to do with these relations which in international law are regarded as the domestic concerns of states. For instance, under this plan, the relations between India and England or between the United States and the Philippines or between Holland and the East Indies or between France and the African territories, or the French possessions in Indo-China, all these matters would be excluded from the purview of discussion. They would be regarded as domestic matters. That is how they are regarded in international law. These are the terms used in that plan. The formulation of such a proposal means once again that the basic conditions of international federation are not forthcoming. Besides subject to that proviso here it is proposed that there should be set up a general assembly as well as a security council which will keep the peace of the world. The idea underlying the composition of the council, however, is the domination of four or five powers—Britain, the United States, Russia. China are mentioned and it is stated that France would soon be asked to join the four Great Powers. It will be then for these five powers to police the world to prevent the outbreak of war. They will lay down the rules about disarmament and for the rest they will make many recommendations. Here, again, the basic conditions of federacy are lacking. The conference plan stops at association. If the basic conditions were forthcoming, it is possible to start a sort of federation. Difficulties of organisations can readily be surmounted. The world does not suffer from a deficiency of political invention. The world really suffers from a deficiency of moral and spiritual endeavour. The first effort has to be towards bringing about

conditions that would be favourable to human fellowship. Statesmanship in 1919 and it seems also to-day is content with treating symptoms. Just as high fever is a symptom of a certain disorder in the body, so war and armament are symptoms of deep maladies in the body politic.

Civilisation is still overburdened with an inheritance from feudalism—the conception of property in territories, and with an inheritance from the still older institution of slavery—the conception of property in populations. They appear as colonialism subjection and imperialism. These survivals from older conditions are a denial of the dignity of man as man and stimulate rivalry and turn the power of the state in a direction which leads logically to war.

WAR IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT.

War is not an isolable phenomenon : immediate motives apart it is integral to an order of things which rests on an imperfect conception of justice. It is a method of pressing claims, a way of resolving disputes, an instrument of policy, natural to a scheme of things which admits the validity of violence and is grounded, in part, in the exertion of force by group upon group. War is often the projection of an internal injustice into external affairs in an intensified form. It will disappear only when men have reasoned themselves out of the concept of property in men and in their habitats. War will not die of reaction to its own horrors ; these will only evoke new precautions and new feats of organisation, endurance and heroism war will persist and the most carefully constructed peace will turn out to be a short armistice so long as and group of mankind, in Asia, Africa, Oceania or elsewhere, are looked upon as fit only to minister to the needs of the so-called advanced races. There is something inhuman in the very idea of the Haves and Havenots of Lebensraum, a

place in the sun—it pertains to territories which can rightfully belong neither to the satiated nor to the unsatiated power but only to their own indigenous inhabitants. To exploit and perpetuate a peoples' weakness instead of making it fit for higher life, is to prolong the era of grab and rivalry with the added horrors of modern mechenisation. A great effort of reason is needed to bring some to all that the present world order is freighted with war and that durable peace depends on its revision into conformity with the new economic possibilities and moral ideals. War has permeated social and polotical organisation, literature and outlook so deeply, force and fraud are still writ so large over associated life, that they can be eliminated only through a great intellectual and moral wakening.

EXERTION OF FORCE.

If distutes have been settled on the plan of force, it is because social life has been moving on the corresponding planes of hated. frustration and exploitation. Force implies intense co-opration in a narrow area and antagonism beyond it. It is exerted by a number of wills ip unison. It is inevitable consequence of the change of scale that the narrow area has been steadily widening until the exertion of force in now a function of big states, empires and coalitions.

INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

It may be that men will be awakened into reason and common-sence only by recurrent war and its grim accompaniments of famine, pestilence and misery. But there is nothing inherently impossible in their turning the corner through a great effort of reason. Events have often infuenced attitudes; it may be that the present war may inspire distrust of passion and throw us back on reason. It may lead men to question

the wisdom of sheer acquisitiveness and domination. But if the basic causes are not checked, the war idealism would, as in 1919, soon spend itself and the states would return to their normal mood of belligerency. The political gains would become permanent only if they are embodied in regional federations as component units in a world confederation free from all trace of political inferiorities on the score of race, colour, religion or nationality. Larger political formations would represent only a natural extension of the state's role of adjustment. They would ensure, *inter alia* a freer flow of goods and services and a freer access to raw materials on the part of all. They would facilitate comprehensive economic planning, not necessarily of a centralised character, which would obviate the distressing economic slumps and crises. They would multiply contacts and release processes of unification. Now that the line between domestic and foreign affairs is vanishing, the state's role of adjustment has to be international: It is only natural that international government should struggle into being. The League of Nations may be dead: but long live the League. Its resurrection is certain; it is rooted in the necessities of the times. It is inherent in the large scale on which peoples live their lives and the rapidity with which they react to one another. It is not the formation but the character of the League that would come up for discussion. Experience suggests that international organisation, inevitable after the war, be based not on the sovereign nation—state, like the first League of Nations, but on the idea of confederation, a common government for specified purposes.

Lecture IV.

Federalism—Its International Aspects

By

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Advocate, Allahabad High Court.

[Born in 1887, educated at Foreman Christian College, Lahore, LL.D. from Allahabad University in 1919, Chairman Allahabad Municipal Board (1935-37), Ex-minister of Law and Order (1937-39). A member of the All India Congress Committee and a leading member of the Local High Court Bar. The following lecture was delivered by Dr. Katju at the Foundation Club after the talk of the late Dr. Beni Prasad, Mr. K. K. Bhattacharya presided.]

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

Whenever it suits anybody this way or that, it is the custom to refer to International Law. I read long ago in the text-books on Jurisprudence that international law was the vanishing point of jurisprudence. There is no such thing as International Law. Law always requires sanction. That is an elementary principle. There must be some authority, some force to make one observe all laws. So far as International Law is concerned there is no such sanction. Therefore all references to International Law in discussions of this nature strike me no more or less than sheer eloquence and lead us nowhere. Those of you who are students of Law or of Political Science would remember that International Law in so far as the law courts of a particular country are concerned are those rules which the courts of that country would enforce as amongst the people of that country. Therefore by Acts of Parliament, or Acts of other Legislatures or by judicial

decisions rules which were initiated 300 or 400 years ago by great writers on International Law are applied and enforced by the courts of particular countries. Otherwise there is no sanction.

Dr. Beni Prasad has given us in very vivid language the distinction between federation and confederation and he said that federation may really start from an alliance or alliances. Speaking very generally, I think the lessons of history during the last 400 years teach us that confederation is another synonym for balance of power. There is no charm in words. I am not talking of coloured people. There are white civilised people who have been enjoying the benefit of civilised governments for the last 700 years. What do you find? The word federation may not have been there. But during the last 600 years there has been persistently between these very people the desire to maintain the balance of power. This was one of the features of European politics. We see Britain sometimes, in order to keep up the balance of power, siding with Germany, sometimes with France so that England may have a dominant influence in European politics. That is the cause of all confederations. I submit that the future of the world peace does not lie with confederation, if the statesmen of the world were merely to bring about a confederation that would not mean the speedy end of all wars, that would not mean peace for mankind even for the next 25 years.

I read in one of the newspapers about two or three days ago some English statesman using a new phrase that the Big Three—Britain, Russia and the United States—are the trustees for mankind. Up till now we were familiar with the conception that the British people were the trustees for India. Now the Big Three are the trustees for mankind, that is to say, America, Russia and the British Commonwealth—

these people will keep everybody under domination and they will keep the peace. So far as they are concerned they will not disarm, they will keep sufficient forces in their hands—air power, naval power, military power, to put down rebels like Germany and to act like policemen to keep order. If that is the conception on which the future of the world is going to be built, all that I should like to say is that the future of the world is pretty bleak and another war is bound to come. It is inevitable. It is a cycle of wars. Because if the trustees keep the markets to themselves and if they are not available to others, there will be scramble for world-markets. Pious political texts and peace-breathing sentiments will lead us nowhere. My submission to you is that confederation is only another term for an alliance in which every member of that alliance always will have its eye on the prosperity, the welfare, and the interests of its own country. If the Britishers think that the interests of the British Commonwealth require that Germany should be bolstered up as against the growing power of Russia they will not hesitate to do so. What is the lesson of the previous war? Germany was completely disarmed. But the British people thought that France was getting tremendously powerful on the continent and therefore deliberately the British Government began to bolster up Germany, began to support Germany, establish cultural alliance with Germany. Similarly in a confederation there is no loyalty of purpose. It is all based upon the good of the moment.

Then comes federation or federalism. But the difficulty I have always felt is this that there must be a different kind of loyalty. Let me put before you what I mean in a very clear-cut sentence. Supposing we have a federation between England, America, Russia and France and they have got an international force to carry out the directions of the

federation, that international force will consist of all the peoples who are parties to the federation. The international force will consist of the Britishers, Americans, Russians, the French people—a joint force under a joint command. Now supposing the British Government determine to defy the federation. The test is will the British members of that international force invade England. I am putting it in a blunt way. Will they say that their loyalty to the federation transcends their loyalty to their own homeland? Let us come nearer home to India. It is an expedient, the only wise expedient for establishing political unity for the purpose of gaining the objects which Dr. Beni Prasad mentioned, security for freedom and also keeping and preserving the culture of smaller communities or component members of the federation. In India we have many communities in different provinces. Suppose we have a federation, we give group autonomy on the largest possible extent, we have a federal government for certain objects, defence, external aggression and so on. Now a time comes when there is some sort of quarrel, a dispute, or a controversy between a member of the federation, let us say the Punjab, and another unit of the federation with regard to the federal field. I want to know whether the loyalty of the Punjabis to the Punjab will be greater or smaller than their loyalty to the federation. If necessity demands would a Punjabi range himself against his own province—the Punjab—to serve the interests of the federation. If you do not get that loyalty, then federation will not bring about the desired end. In history you find the same thing wherever federation exists. Take the United States. There you have got 48 states. But in any controversy of Federation as against an individual state an American would not think “I belong to Texas or California, therefore in all matters of California *versus* United States

I must be for California. No, as a member of the United States forces I will go and fight against California." I think that is the feeling in America. Similarly I believe that is the position in Australia, Canada and South Africa. There is the higher loyalty for the federation as compared to what I may call the local loyalty to one's own community. If that larger loyalty can be developed, then I agree the future lies with federation. That is the best solution for all mankind. But if you do not develop that higher loyalty, I do not personally see any way out of the controversies or the evil results of politicians' machinations sometimes this way and sometime that way.

I should like to invite your attention to one very important aspect and it is this. The lesson that Russia teaches us is both novel and striking indeed. In the U. S. S. R. you find I do not know how many nationalities, no community of blood, no community of traditions, no community of language, no community of religion, no common mythology, no common associations, nothing in common and yet you find the Russians showing the greatest zeal for the U. S. S. R. That is the great mystery of the present age. That belies all our preconceived notions about a political society. You will see the implications in another aspect. We have been told that we fight for freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of religion, freedom of all sorts and varieties. Unless the literature relating to Russia was all propaganda and all false, in some matters it was true. The only common thing that binds together the Russians of today—200 million Russians of numerous nationalities—is their devotion to one particular ideology, call it Bolshevism, Communism, or what you please. And please remember that that ideology has been forced upon the throat of every single inhabitant of the U. S. S. R. during the last 25 years. They have

captured the child from 1917 October Revolution onwards. No other system of thought was permitted to be preached. I do not know of private religious teaching. But so far as the State was concerned no other doctrine was allowed to be preached or taught. Every single child had to go to State—schools—there were only state schools and none else and the generation of children who are fighting today in a manner which has roused the admiration of mankind is the generation which entered the schools in 1917 onwards. A boy who was 10 in 1917 is today 37 and he is probably a Major General or a Marshal or an Admiral or something higher. What strikes me is that here you have absolutely one ideology binding the people and secondly these are the people who have not the benefit of the great Freedoms which are foreshadowed before us. It has been said that if you want a man to fight, if you want a man to sacrifice for his Motherland, he must have our Freedoms. I think it is agreed that in so far as Russia is concerned you accept the basic doctrine of Communism. I suggest to you that this phenomenon requires to be carefully studied by research students of the Allahabad University. It is not only confined to Russia. You have Germany. No freedom of any kind, no freedom of speech ; it is dictatorship. You find how German soldiers are simply mad for their country's cause. It is a very peculiar thing that people who do not know freedom yet are prepared to die and die for the sake of their Motherland. Similarly in Japan. I should like to suggest to you to examine this aspect of the matter and to tell us what is the secret of the tremendous success in the U. S. S. R. What is it that has welded them into one people ? Of course in Nazi Germany there is the plausible and attractive doctrine of race—the Nordic race. Jews were turned out. But in Russia it is such a conglomeration. And

the second thing that I should like you to consider the recent development. Up till now the idea of federation contained no basic assumption for any power to secede and go out of the federation. You remember in India this question became very prominent when federation was under discussion in 1931-33 and the question was whether Burma should remain in British India. People uncharitably inclined said that the British Government was very keen to keep Burma out of India so that Burma may be a happy-hunting ground for the British capitalists. But the question was whether Burma should be a member of the Indian Federation or not. That was left to the will of the Burmese themselves. A guarantee was given that the British Government would accept the verdict of the Burmese people on that question whether they would like to remain with India in the Indian Federation or go out. The verdict was given in this way that we would like to enter now with liberty to secede. Sir Samuel Hoare said that he never anticipated a verdict in favour of a union with India and the question had never been put properly to the Burmese electorate. The question now is whether you get into the federation or get out of it. If you once enter the Indian Federation than Burma will never be permitted to get out of it. But now following the Russian example we have this new development—a federation with a right to secede. I do not know what are the implications of that. People quote the Russian model before you. But it seems to me that the position is not so simple. The Russian constitution undoubtedly provides it. But if the whole people is regimented into one particular outlook in life, then very likely people think that that particular right will never be exercised. It is the belief that it will be only on paper. It may be that the smaller Republics in the U. S. S. R. are so comfortably off, that

they have got real group autonomy—that they never think of getting out of the U. S. S. R. This is the new trend of development in political life. That requires great consideration. The question is being raised in India itself whether we should offer this to our Muslim brethren that they should have a right to secede. I personally think this requires very careful thought and our political thinkers' mind will guide us in unravelling the various implications of this doctrine, where it can carry us, and whether it would lead us to the proper goal. I suggest for a federation there must be some ties. Without a tie, without some bond, a federation cannot live. It may be a bond of ideology, common notions, common views, it may be a cultural bond, it may be a bond of old associations, political associations, physical contacts, or you may say the idea of security, self-preservation. But there must be some sort of bond. But the bond must be so strong, it must produce the greater loyalty, the larger loyalty. If you join the federation with a mental reservation, that it is open for me the moment my member unit is affected by any one, I get out, my loyalty is first to my own unit and then the larger unit, the federation, I suggest that this thing will not work. It may work on paper ; it will break down.

I am certain that mankind for thousands of years had been caught in a perpetual vicious circle, war and peace, peace and war. If you want to get out of this circle, you will have to devise other remedies, think out other ideas, call it spiritual, call it moral or whatever term you use. But this device of federation or confederation or work on old lines will very likely fail. Of course I can here embark upon another chapter—non-violence and society based on that conception, that is another important subject for consideration. Otherwise it seems to me that the history so far as war is concerned may

repeat itself if the basic idea governing the minds of the statesmen, the three Big people, is that they are going to be the trustees of mankind for years to come.

Lecture V.

Civil Liberties During War

By

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[Born 1898 in Bengal ; educated in Scottish Church College and University College, Calcutta and University Law College, London, M. A. 1922, B. L. (Cal.) 1924, LL.M. (London) 1933. in which he got full marks in Constitutional Law, was in Bengal Provincial Judicial Service for eight years ; resigned and joined the Allahabad University in 1936. Author of " Lectures on Indian Constitution " delivered at the Calcutta University, 1938 ; author of " International Law " ; invited to deliver Extension Lecturers in the Calcutta University on " The Future of International Law and World Organization."]

Lord Atkin in *Liversidge v. Anderson* observed : " In England amidst the clash of arms the laws are not silent. They may be changed, but they speak the same language in war as in peace. It has always been one of the pillars of freedom, one of the principles of liberty for which, on recent authority, we are now fighting, that the judges are no respectors of persons, and stand between the subject and any attempted encroachments on his liberty by the executive, alert to see that any coercive notice is justified in law." Lord Macmillan on the other hand in the same case put it : " The

liberty which we so justly extol is itself the gift of the law, and, as Magna Carta recognises, may by the law be forfeited or abridged. At a time when it is the undoubted law of the land that a citizen may by conscription or requisition be compelled to give up his life and all that he possesses for his country's cause, it may well be no matter for surprise that there should be confided to the Secretary of State a discretionary power of enforcing the relatively mild precaution of detention." Lord Atkinson in *R. v. Halliday* spoke thus : " However precious the personal liberty of the subject may be, there is something for which it may well be, to some extent, sacrificed by legal enactment, namely, national success in war or escape from national plunder or enslavement."

L. J. Scrutton in *Ronnfeldt v. Phillips* 1918, 35 T. L. R. said : " The courts are always anxious to protect the liberty of the subject. They do so both in the interest of the subject himself and in the interest of the State. In times of war, there must be some modifications in the interest of the State. It has been said that a war cannot be conducted on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. It may also be said that war cannot be carried on according to the principles of Magna Carta." On the other hand Justice Greer in *Hudson's Bay Co. v. MacLay* 1920, 36 T. L. R. says ; " Under circumstances such as these the notion that there is any effective presumption, that Parliament did not intend to interfere with the liberty of property of the subject becomes so thin as to be describable as the shade of a shadow and disappears altogether when we find in the statute words which show that the legislature expressly authorised particular regulations which would of necessity restrict the liberty of the subject and his freedom to enjoy his normal rights over his real and

personal property." Baty and Morgan in their book "War, Its Conduct and Its Results," observed : " The fact that we are engaged in a foreign war does not operate to place us at the mercy of the executive or to suspend the common law rights." The oracles have spoken thus at Delphi and at Dodona and it is for us to decide to which voice we shall listen. We are living in the midst of terrific clash of arms. It is a war of ideologies—whether democratic institutions and democracy itself shall survive or whether totalitarianism shall dominate the world—these are two great conflicting issues in this titanic struggle. It is therefore necessary for us to decide whether it is permissible during the period of war to resort to restrictions and if so to what extent, to provide safeguards as a check upon the conduct of the executive and if so what safeguards—these are matters of great concern as also of vital interest not merely for the democratic countries but for the future generations as well. Civil liberties therefore during war is not merely of great academic interest but also of great practical value as affording to present and future constitutional lawyers, scholars, publicists, academicians, practical men and parliamentarians—in fact all those who take any interest great or small in the governance of a state. This war with all its attendant dangers is much greater in volume and magnitude than the last war of 1914 and the words of MacKinnon, L. J. in *Liversidge v. Anderson* are to be seriously noted. " All the circumstances of national safety..... are present in this war, only with vastly increased urgency and gravity, because German methods for effecting the poisonous infiltration among British or allied subjects of their purposes and schemes have been immensely more subtle and ingenious than in the last war. Even a judge may be allowed to take notice of the import of words like "fifth columnists,"

“quislings” and the like. It is the duty of the Secretary to check these underground and insidious activities of the enemy and their consequences, whether they result in sabotage, in anti-British propaganda or in the weakening the national effort and endurance.”

With these words, I shall examine the meaning of Civil Liberty.

Liberty :—It means the absence of restraint upon the existence of those social conditions, which in modern civilization are the necessary guarantees of individual happiness.

According to Hegel, men are free when they live under laws, which make them live without a sense of frustration in matters which they deem essential to their existence. They are not free when the laws are such which they think deny the opportunity of self-realisation and which they resent.

Since absolute power corrupts absolutely if at any stage of society is a body of men, who possess unlimited political power over the destinies of a people such people, can never be free. The world is divided now into two camps—democratic states and totalitarian states. So far as the conception of liberty in the totalitarian state is concerned, it means that the state has got absolute control over the life and action of the individual. In fact he is deemed to be a play-thing of the state. On the other hand, in the democratic state man gets the fullest opportunity of self-expression and self-realisation. Democratic government is government by discussion, agreement and collaboration. It uplifts man and does not degrade him. In Fascist or Nazi or other totalitarian state man is regarded as nothing but a limb of the state without any volition of his own—he is an ugly, degraded creature. Democracy is timelessly human based on justice, freedom and

harmony, whereas Fascism is a transitory phase, whose essence is force. "Democracy is that form of government and of society which is inspired above everything else with the feeling and consciousness of the dignity of man."

Civil Liberty:—What does Civil Liberty mean? Civil liberty means and includes freedom of person, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of contract, freedom of trade and other matters auxiliary and incidental to these rights. Civil Liberties are, as it were, the very breath of a civilized community. A State which denies Civil Liberties to the people must be deemed to be either a barbaric state or a tyrannical one.

If we trace the history of Civil Liberty from ancient times, we shall find that at first everywhere there was the conspicuous absence of Civil Liberties in the sense in which we understand them as the essential guarantees of individual freedom from interference by the State or by any member of the community. In those ancient days, except in some city states of Greece, liberty meant merely the protection against tyranny of political rulers. They were thought as antagonistic to the ruled. The rulers claimed their power from inheritance or birth or conquest. The bold and the courageous amongst the ruled, aggrieved by the tyranny of the rulers, wanted to put checks upon their autocratic and absolute powers and liberty, therefore, meant the limitation upon their power. This was attempted either by obtaining a recognition of certain immunities, called Political Liberties or Rights, which if violated justified resistance or even revolution on the part of the subjects. Thus we find in primitive society too totalitarian control over the minds and bodies of the members was exercised by the ruler. Totalitarianism and repression of individuality are synonymous terms. People then were under

the burden of unalterable customs, almost impossible to break. The history of human progress is the history of the attempts at gradual emancipation of the individuality and personality from the shackle by which its creative power was restrained and if you take it as a broad proposition that the emancipation of the individual is the same thing as the growth of liberty. To the great Greeks the world owes the ideal of free society and the ushering in of individual liberty, to the Romans the principle of the reign of law and the creation of a sense of unity of western civilization, to the Jews the foundation of a religion which gained equal value to all men in the eye of law, to the Hindu civilization the ascendancy of spirit over matter and the happy harmonising of the interest of the rulers and the ruled and to the Chinese civilization the strength of the family life, but the Chinese civilization lacks the vitalizing strength of liberty in as much as there was no rule of law. To the Islamic civilization the world owes the conception of the brotherhood of man under a deep sense of religious unity and to the western civilization the idea and growth of liberty. The Romans had given the conception of the rule of law, which meant the ushering in of the idea of Civil Liberty or Liberties. People in ancient society used to accept the orders of the rulers without question, but gradually since the Renaissance in Europe the spirit of free criticism threw out a challenge to the rulers regarding their arbitrary decrees.

England was the first country in the world, which even before the Renaissance began to assert herself against the autocratic orders of her kings. Since the days of the Magna Carta, 1215, people became conscious of their civil rights and wrested from the unwilling hand of John the charter of English liberties.

Discussion of the important principles of the Magna Carta:—The growth and development of those principles later

on in English History through various charters, quasi-charters, various statutes etc., may now be discussed.

The Bill of Rights put the Civil liberties of the people on a sound basis and if the American War of Independence be deemed as the fore-runner of the French Revolution, certainly the Bill of Rights can be deemed to have ushered in the spirit of resistance in the colonists against the arbitrary laws enacted in England against them. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution by declaration of the rights of man put the final seal of approval upon the civil liberties of the people.

The American War of Independence and more specially the French Revolution carried the principles underlying the Bill of Rights further. The French Revolution destroyed the last relics of Feudalism and Absolutism. It thus ushered in the conception of Modern European Democracy. The French Revolution put the seal of recognition upon the natural rights of men and thus gave a re-orientation as it were to the spiritual, moral and intellectual freedom as also opened up the gates of free criticism and discussion. "Not only in philosophy and thought, but also in practical, social and economic life, it laid for the nations of Europe the foundation of modern life on which was built the European society of the 19th century, the society of the liberty of the Bourgeoisie first and of industry and capitalistic Bourgeoisie a little later, especially in the western Europe. This philosophy was rationalist, equalitarian, universalist and humanist and proclaimed in the national brotherhood. It was liberal and democratic in the synthetic sense in which we use the term to-day."

If democracy extols human personality, Fascism and Authoritarianism degrade it. Democracy emphasises the moral, spiritual and intellectual life of a man and tries to give him opportunities of self-realisation. Fascism and Nazism,

on the other hand, attempt to reduce the people in the State to the position of atoms and make them intellectually and morally debased. Human personality under such a system is always dwarfed and a man from his birth till his death is always under the constant restrictions imposed upon him by a party which acts in the name of the state and exalts the leaders as infallible and tyrannises over the rest. The basic principle of democracy is never anti-religious, whereas Facism is based on force and brute force. While democracy is individualistic, Facism is anti-individualistic. In every democratic country, therefore, the state tries to safeguard the interests of its people by inserting in the constitution certain fundamental rights which are more or less termed Civil Liberties. In England, however, the constitution being unwritten, Civil Liberties have grown out of the Common Law and the Judges have from the ancient times guarded the priceless jewels of Civil Liberties. The various charters and quasi-charters, the statutory enactments e.g., the Habeas Corpus Act, speak eloquently of the protection of the individual against the inroads of the Executive Government.

But in times of war since the year 1918 even in democratic countries, liberties have undergone an eclipse. The penumbra, however, had been short-lived, in as much as, as soon as war has been over people begin to enjoy civil liberties unhindered by the executive fear.

Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice, in a famous case observed *fiat justitia ruat cælum*, "Let justice be done though the Heavens may fall." Lord Camden, another Chief Justice, in the famous case of *Entic versus Carrington*, observed, "This country does not know any state contingency or state necessity in regard to British subjects within British territory."

The French Revolution scattered the seeds of Liberty all over the world and gave to the world for the first time the sense of human brotherhood, which had been carried further by the Russian Revolution.

Rule of law is the foundation of Civil Liberties and Civil Liberties and the supremacy of law or the reign of law is the guardian angel, as it were, of Civil Liberties.

As already observed, in countries governed by Facism or Nazism, Civil Liberties are almost non-existent even in peace time. In democratic countries, however, for example, in England, France, the U. S. A., civil liberties in peace time flourish in all their splendor and the basic principle is that a man can do anything and everything, speak anything and everything and enjoy other rights so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others and does not make a nuisance himself. In democratic countries, however, some limitations upon civil liberties are imposed, but these limitations are essential in order to protect the State from an external aggressor. The limitations, therefore, proceed in the best interest of the people and as a result of discussion, agreement and collaboration amongst the representatives of a democratic state, e.g., in England the House of Commons in whom the legal sovereignty resides and which is nothing but a mirror of the public opinion of the people of the country always does put limitation on civil liberties. But the limitations placed thereupon the previous wars were not of a drastic character because war did not involve the conception of total war, i.e., total mobilisation of all the forces—physical, intellectual and moral against its opponent. War before the last Great War of 1914 meant almost a duel between the combatants of two or more states. But the conception of total war ever since the last World War has curtailed the civil liberty of the people of

democratic countries with a view to protect the State from external aggression. But the basic principle underlying the limitations has been that such diminution of civil liberty must proceed upon the basis of discussion and agreement amongst people's representatives with the sole and only object of protecting the citizen's civil liberty being endangered for all times by an aggressor, who may overrun the country and imperil the freedom of the people. *Salus populi suprema lex* in the cardinal principle of the curtailment of civil liberties in democratic states,—not so, however, in a Facisist or Nazi State, where such liberties do not exist even in peace time—far less, in war time.

Lecture VI.

Some pages from Iqbal

By

Mr. M. N. REHMAN, M.A., H.P..

Persian Department, University of Allahabad.

[Born 1893, Barabanki Oudh; educated at Foreman Christian College and Islamia College, Lahore; passed all University examinations in the First Division; topped B.A. Hons. and M.A. (Arabic) and Munshi-Fazil (Persian); Professor of Arabic, Persian and Urdu at the Presidency College, then at the Government Mohamadan College, Madras from 1916 to 1924; in November, 1924 came over to the Allahabad University as Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, has been member of the Senate and Academic Council and various bodies of the Madras and Mysore Universities. Author of *Khilafat-i-Mawabhidin*, *Natan. Asas-i-Arabic*, *Mifbah-i-Arabic*, *Kunya-names in Arabic*; now

working on a Dictionary of Allusions in Arabic Persian and Urdu Literature and a work on the Life and Thought of Iqbal. His talk on 'Some pages from Iqbal' was given at the Foundation Club with Mr. M. P. Shukla, M.A., in the chair.]

I propose, in these few pages to introduce Iqbal to the Club, particularly to such of us as have not known him yet.

Briefly, Iqbal was born in 1873 and died in 1938, Educated at Sialkot and Lahore in India and at London and Munich in the European continent, and having drunk deep at these fountains of knowledge and learning, he rose to be a highly considerable thinker and philosopher and a reputed poet of Urdu and Persian; and was a contemporary in the Panjab of the renowned Rabindranath Tagore, the illustrious Nobel-prizeman of Bengal. By birth a Kashmiri of the Brahmanic clan of our great and revered fellow-citizen, the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, by religious and political persuasion Iqbal was a Muslim. Esteemed as a great poet and thinker by all alike, he was, about the last years of his life, found guilty, *by some* of Pakistanism, and was condemned as a bigoted Muslim.....for he promulgated the idea of *Pakistan* for the first time at Allahabad in 1932. He is condemned because he wrote for the Muslims, and in terms Islamic and Muslims i.e., using Islamic formulae (such as لا اله الا الله etc.) and mentioning Muslim persons.

May I, without holding any brief for Iqbal, submit that this is by no means a fair ground for his condemnation. For, words and terms of expression are to a great extent immaterial, as Ghalib would say :

مقصد ہے تاز و غمزو لے گفتگو میں کلم
چلتا نہیں ہے دشتہ و خنجر کہے بغیر
ہر چند ہو مشاہدہ حق کی گفتگو
بنتی نہیں ہے بادہ و سافر کہے بغیر

A Muslim that he is.....and he does not hesitate to admit he is one.....it is out natural for Iqbal to speak in terms of his own persuasion and beliefs. He remembers, however, that he is a Brahman by birth :

مرا بنگر کہ در هندوستان دیگر تہ می بینی
برہمن زادہ اے رمز آشناے روم و تبریز است

But he is a complex, and does not know himself :

اقبال بھی اقبال سے آگاہ نہیں ہے
کچھ شک نہیں اس بات میں والہ نہیں ہے
ز شعر دلکش اقبال می توان دریافت
کہ درس فلسفہ می داد و عاشقی و زبید
نہ شیخ شہر ناشاعر نہ خرقة پوش اقبال
فقیر راہ نشین است و دل غنی دارد
بیا بہ مجلس اقبال و یک دو ساغر کش
اگرچہ سر نہ ترا شد قداری داند
و مدہ در کعبہ اے پیور حرم اقبال را
ہر زمان در آستین دارد خداوندی دگر
فرزانیہ بہ گفتارم دیوانہ بہ کر دارم
از بادۂ شوق تو ہشیارم و مستم من

Yet he is not afraid of admitting that he gets his inspiration from beyond India ;

اگرچہ زادۂ ہندم فروغ چشم من است
ز خاک پاک بخارا و کابل و تبریز

Suffice it to say that he speaks in terms of the environs of the breeding and tradition ; draws inspiration from any and every quarter ; is sure that by his talk he is going to work a revolution in his country, and more so, in his own community :

پس از من شعر من خوانند و دریابند و می گویند
جہانی را دگرگون کرد یک خود مرد آگاہی

It is well known about Iqbal that he started as a poet for India and Indians *par excellence*, but he drifted steadily to an expression that was *muslim* in its tone, thus laying himself open to the course of communalism. But we should not forget two things; firstly, however focussed Iqbal's utterance may be on Islam and the Muslim, his observations can be interpreted and understood in our own terms, and his counsels heeded for our own benefit: secondly Iqbal, addresses his community particularly because he finds it awfully backward in the race of life and eminence, fears it may lag further behind if it is not warned now, feels that his first duty is to his own people more than "others" as his community needs better advice, which can best be rendered in terms of their own thought and expression. And we can well afford to listen to and benefit by what he tells his people :

Without taking any more of your time I place before you some of his utterances. This will introduce to you Iqbal and his thought, as also some of the sources of his inspiration from native surroundings, and may thus serve to dispell some of your misgivings about him. For this purpose I have selected for to-day Iqbal's *Jawid-namah*, one of his last works.

The *Jawid-namah* is a long poem, in Persian, discriptive of the poet's journey "in thought" to the dilestial regions and beyond.

Leaving his earthly home in company and guidance of his *guru*, the celebrated Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-1273), he enters the sphere of the Moon, and thence he travels, in succession, to the spheres of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and passes on into "Beyond the heavens," straight into the Garden of Bliss, and then into the very presence of God. And then, all on a sudden he finds himself back in his own world, under his own sky !

I will show a few glimpses of the scenes the poet has seen and described.

In the very first stage of his celestial journey, in the sphere of the Moon, the poet meets the great Indian sage Vishwamitra in one of the caves. "Under a tree sat the Indian gnostic. The eyes acquired light by his collyrium. His hair tied up on his head, his body bare, a white serpent sat coiled around him. Here was a man far above the elements of water and earth, the world only an image in his temple of thought. His time knew no revolution of Days, no business had he with the blue firmament." Rumi introduces Iqbal to him as "a man wandering out in search of truth, a fixed star endowed with the nature of a wandering planet.....Like an eagle he is out hunting the moon and the sun....." Vishwamitra speaks: "The world comes of colour, and Truth is colourless. What then is the world? What is man? What is Truth?" Rumi answers: "Man is the sword, Truth is the wielder of that sword, and the world is only a whetstone for that sword. The East saw the truth, but saw not the world: the West wallowed in the world, and fled from before the Truth....."

Vish.—"The East is involved in problems of Entity and Non—entity, and has scarce seen into these secrets. However, since we the celestials have no task but to See, I am by no means hopeless of the East's to-morrow.....It is time now for East to rise; she has a fresh sun in her bosom. I see a whole resurrection in her lap. I see a quake in her mountains....." The sage withdraws his breath for a while, and then examines the poet rather restlessly:

Vish.—What is the death of Reason?

Iq.—Giving up of Thought.

Vish.—What is the death of Heart?

Iq.—Giving up of Remembrance (of God).

Vish.—What is the Body ?

Iq.—It is born of the dust of the road.

Vish.—And the Soul ?

Iq.—The secret of "There is no good but He,"

Vish.—What is the Man ?

Iq.—One of His secrets.

Vish.—And the world ?

Iq.—It is all before us.

Vish.—What is all this Science and Art ?

Iq.—Only the rind !

Vish.—What is the proof ?

Iq.—The face of the Beloved One.

Vish.—What is the religion of the commons ?

Iq.—Only heresay.

Vish.—And the religion of the Gnostics ?

Iq.—Real Vision.

Greatly pleased with the disciple, the *Friend of the World* instructed him thus : (1) This world is by no means a screen for the essence of Truth ; an impression on water does not prevent one from diving. (2) To be born into another world is, a happy thing, so that another youth be achieved. (3) Truth lies beyond Death, and is the very essence of Life.....Though we are like birds, wingless and featherless, yet we have more knowledge of Death than God. (4) What is Time ? A sweetmeat mixed with poison. You will see no town nor desert free from its oppression. In compassion consists only in this that you say "It has passed." (6) Wrong belief is death, O enlightened one ! How can a warrior—fight against a dead man ? A rightly-believing youth, living and fighting with himself, attacks

himself as a tiger springs upon a gazelle. (6) An infidel with a vigilant heart, standing in presence of an idol, is better than the faithful one who dozes away inside the precincts of the Karba. (7) It is the blind eye that sees the Untruth, for the Sun never sees the night. (8) Association of clay develops the seed into a tree but it makes man inglorious. From clay the seeds acquires crispness: so that it may hunt the sun's rays. (9) I asked the rose, "How do you acquire colour and fragrance from air and dust?" Said the rose, "O wise one who has lost his senses! how do you send a message by dint of silent electricity? We have life in our body by dint of attraction of this and that. While your attraction is apparent, ours is latent."

Rambling in the Moon our poet also meets Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster and Tolstoy and draws inspiration from their talks. In Venus the poet meets the Pharaoh of Egypt and the English soldier, Lord Kitchener of Khartoum. The Pharaoh recalls how the British archaeologists has removed all treasures from the grave of the Egyptian pharaoh: "Every mummied body that is seen in the Museum has a tale on its silent lips. It speaks volumes about kingship, and imparts vision to the blind ones. What is the disposition of kingship? Discord, and seeking strength by the policy of Disunion... .." Kitchener tries to explain why his people have robbed the treasures of the pharaohs graves. "The object of the English people is a lofty one They have not dug any grave for the sake of rubies and gems. For the history of Egypt and of the pharaohs can be studied in these archaeological remains. Science and philosophy consists only in disclosing such secrets, and knowledge without a search is nothing." "Granted", said Pharaoh, "that it was science and philosophy that opened up our graves. But," he asked pointedly. "What find was

there in the grave of the Mahdi?" "At this juncture the Mahdi of Soudan suddenly appears on the scene. "O Kitchener !," says he, "if then only hast eyes to see, look at the dust of a dervish! God gave no grave to thy body, and offered thee a resting place only in the salina sea ! "

Skipping over the scenes in Mars and Jupiter let us accompany the poet into Saturn, where he beholds the ignoble spirits who have been traitorous to their country and nation, and when even the Hell gives no shelter. In that horrible atmosphere where even the Sun grudged to shed its light, were two arch-traiters, "who had killed the soul of a nation for their personal aggrandisement.", Who were they? Ja'far from Bengal, and Sadiq from the Deccan, those embodiments of "ignominy to man a disgrace, to religion, an infamy to the homeland; rejected by all, hopeless, wretched ones, whose deed has flung a whole nation into perversityWho was it that sowed the seed of slavery in India? All that is the doing of such ignoble souls!"

A terrible scene follows; The poet "saw an ocean of blood.....an ocean full of deluge, in and out. In the air were serpents, such as crocodiles in the sea; their hoods dark like a night, their wings and feathers shining like mercury. The waves were tearing like a tiger; the ocean's terror threw out the crocodile deed on the shore. The ocean did not, for even a breath give rest to the shore, for every moment rocks fell into the blood. One wave of blood was combating with and other, and in its midst was a boat tossing about. In that boat were two men, pale-faced, their bodies bare and their hair scattered."

Enter : the spirit of India.

"The heavens split asunder, and a saintly houri appeared raising her veil from her face. In her forehead was an enternal

fire and light, and in her eyes an everlasting contentment. On her body was garment, lighter than a cloud, its warp and woof was of the veins of a rose-petal. And with all this charm, only fetters and shackles were her sorry lot, and on her lips were wailings rainful. "Look, this is the spirit of India," said Rumi "Her wailings set the heart ablaze."

India wails. "In the lamp of India the flame of its soul is extinguished. The Indians are strangers to the real dignity of India. This mannikin, who knows not his own secrets, scarce strikes his own plectrum on his own string These fetters and chains on my hands and feet I owe to him, these ineffectual cries of mine I owe to him Oh, when will the night of India see the light of the day ! Ja'far is dead, but his spirit lives on still !....."

Passing on into regions beyond the heavens our poet meets, among other persons the Indian poet-king Bhartrihari, "that ingenious speaker, whose nature is like a winner cloud ; who never selected from the garden anything other than a fresh bud.....a king gifted with an exquisite voice, the occupier of a lofty position even in spiritual poverty. With his extraordinary thought he produces an excellent painting, and conceals a whole world of sense in a couple of words. He is fully conversant with this workshop of life !"

Said Iqbal to Bhartrihari : You have sung so many heart-soothing songs, East has become a knower of Secrets by your talk. Pray tell me whence does poetry gather heat ? Whence does it come ? From the Self, or from God ?

Bhart.—None in the world knows where the poet is, for his high and low notes disclose his key. The warm heart he has in his bosom knows no rest even in the presence of God. Our soul feels pleasure in Search ; and poetry gathers heart

from the Station of Wish. You, who are intoxicated with the wine drawn from the vine of poetry, if you happen to reach that station, remember that in your world of stone and brick you can snatch away the heart of a paradisiacal houri with a couple of verses !

Iq.—I have seen that the Indians are now pining to know the truth. It is time now that you disclose the secret of Truth.

Bhart.—These petty tin-gods are made of stone and brick. There is one far highest than these, one who is far above monasteries and temples. A prostration with a real love for action is arid and reaches nowhere. Life is all action, good or bad.....This world which, you behold, is by no means the vestige of God *Charkha* is your, and so is the thread produced by your spindle Prostrate yourself before the law of Compensation of deed (*Karma*), for it is from the deed that hell and paradise take birth!"

Moving on to what the poet styles as the Hall of Eastern Kings, he met the martyr King Tippu, who requested the poet to "tell him something about the Indians and India—India, against a blade of whose grass even a whole garden weighs nothing: India, in whose Mosques all bustle is dead, in whose firetemples fire has gone cold: India, for whom I have beld my heart, and whose remembrance I have cherished like my own soul....."

Iq.—The Indians refuse to accept the law of Europe, whose magic works in them no more. A foreign law is a burden to their souls, even though it come from heaven.

Sultan—.....You have been a visitor to my city and my country; you have rubbed your eyes on my grave. O you who know the limits of the universe, did you see any trace of life in the Decean ?

Iq.—I have sown the seed of a tear in the Deccan. Tulips will grow out of the dust of that garden. The Kaveri, even fluent as it is, I have seen in its soul a new commotion.

Sultan—.....Pray convey a word or two from me to the Kaveri.

Here follows the martyr Sultan's message to the Kaveri ;

"Move softly for a while. O Kaveri! You are perhaps tired of this eternal flow. For ages have you been lamenting in these hilly ranges, and carving out your way with your brows.....Your water is the *Water of Life* for the Deccan. O for the city that flourished in your lap!.....You may have grown old, but your youth is just the same. Your writhes and twists, your colour and lustre is the same as ever! Your wave created nothing but gems May your ringlets keep on as disturbed as ever. O Kaveri, whose music is the very warmth of life! do you know whose message this is? It comes from one whose majesty you used to circumambulate, and to whose dominion you were a mirror-bearer; one whose administration converted desert into paradise, one who inscribed his name with his own blood, one whose dust is the centre of a hundred wishes. Remember that this agitation in your waves comes from his blood!—he who alone was awake while the East was asleep to! Kaveri, I and you are only wave in the stream of life. This universe changes in every breath. Life connotes a change in every breath, for it is in search for a new world. The warp and woof of all existence is made of passing away and a previous being, which also give birth to this love for manifestation.....Do you wish to step into the home of Existence and Being? Do'nt. And if you do come, do not lose yourself like a spark, but go out in search to burn a whole heap of harvest. Place not your foot in this wide expanse of the sky unless you

possess a heat and a lustre like the Sun. And then, set fire to the mountain and the meadow and the garden and the desert. O burn away even the fishes in the ocean-bed. If you have a chest fit to be a target for the arrow, live in the world like an eagle and die like an eagle.....What is the way and manner of life? A moment of a lion's life is better than a hundred years of the life of a sheep? A creature of the true God is lion, and death is a gazelleSuch a man assaults death as an eagle assaults a pigeon. The slave die every moment out of his fear of death, which makes his life a misery for him. But a free man has a glory all his own. Death gives him a new life... ...The death of a free one does not last longer than a trice. Pass by the death that is allied with the grave; for that is the death that belongs to animals and beasts!"

Lecture VII.

Political Propaganda: Its Theory and Practice

By

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[Born 1915; educated at Maharana's High School Udaipur, Government College, Ajmer and Allahabad University; passed M.A., Examination in Politics in the First Division, standing first in the Order of Merit, in 1937; LL.B. in 1939, appointed Lecturer in Politics in the Allahabad University in 1937. The following lecture could not be delivered at the Foundation Club due to lack of time at our disposal. Very kindly Mr. Mehta allowed us to include it in this volume.]

The science of mass persuasion is as old as history. It has existed in some form or another in every age. But its use as a systematic political weapon is a discovery of the present century. The growing interdependence of national units and the growth of popular education, have given it impetus. People all the world over have become more politically conscious, and social and economic changes in one national unit inevitably have their reactions in other units. Thus, the policy, which formerly, had to be explained to the few, has now to win the approval of the multitude.

Public opinion acquired a new meaning and a greater significance. Healthy public opinion, with honest differences of opinion, the mainspring of democratic activity. New ideas and political enterprises were professed and opposed. The controversy that raged round new doctrines in democratic states educated public opinion and gave impetus to just measures and justified democracy. Democracy thrived on the system of political parties, which became the agencies of political propaganda.

The rise of dictator states introduced a new factor of considerable importance. If political authority was diffused in democracy, it was concentrated in a few hands in dictator countries. Democracy flourished in a system of rival political parties, dictatorships were maintained by single political parties. Difference of opinions could not be tolerated. Public opinion in these countries, ceased to be the outcome of intellectual conviction. It came to be imposed from above. The difference between an Ancient tyrant and a Modern dictator is that the former could do as he pleased and damn the consequences while the latter is compelled to appeal to wide public approval.

The necessity of enlisting the support of the multitude led the dictators to adopt means and methods which have made Modern Propaganda an exact Science. It is to these dictator countries that the credit or discredit for perfecting the technique of political propaganda must go. Dictators had an advantage over democracies. Their aims were clear and definite. Democracies had vague ideals and contradictory aims. Their propaganda consequently maintained the defects of their ideals and objects. On the other hand political propaganda, in Russia, Italy and Germany, has some remarkable achievements to its credit. They had the definite task of winning over the population to their new ideas, at home, and the winning over of potential allies and neutrals abroad.

The importance of propaganda was recognized for the first time by the totalitarian states. It became a force during the Revolution and Civil War in Russia. It played an important part in the building of the Soviet Union. For the first time it was brought into close relationship with education. Education in the Soviet Union was not an end in itself; it became the means to an end. It was imparted to enable the masses to accept readily the opinions of Soviet leaders. In 1920, Lenin spoke to the all Russian Conference of Provincial and district Educational Departments :

"We are not accepting the Utopian point of view that the toiling masses are ready for a Socialist order. The fundamental problem for the educational workers and the Communist party is to assist to the training and education of the toiling masses so that they may overcome old habits and practices which have remained as an inheritance from the old order. Our main policy at the present moment must be and economic reconstitution of the state, and on this basis must be built all agitation and propaganda."

It follows that the people were not allowed to accept each and every opinion. Ideas which did not conform to Soviet ideology were barred and censored. A rigid censorship became an essential corollary of successful propaganda. Italy, under Mussolini, followed similar tactics. Education became state-controlled and was designed to produce youth with single minded devotion to the state. History, biography and geography was rewritten from the new angle. Government came to control both news and views.

It was, however, in Germany, that political propaganda was "programmised and systematised," when Hitler came to power, he appointed Dr. Goebbels as his propaganda manager, with the imposing designation of, "Minister for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment"

On coming to power, Dr. Goebbels instituted his famous chamber of culture with its seven Sub-chambers for Literature, Press, Broadcasting, Theatre, Music, Art and Films. Thus not only public, but every branch of private life of the individual was put under rigid state direction.

A summary of the main principles of political propaganda in the countries may be attempted.

Firstly, the Dictators cannot afford to let the public opinion grow. They manufacture it. It is superimposed. It is here that the contradictions between education and propaganda are brought out very clearly. Education has become a hand maiden of political propaganda and this has proved an effective weapon.

Secondly Propaganda, in these countries is addressed to masses. Both Lenin and Hitler the two greatest propagandists of our times, have emphasised the point. Lenin wrote ;

“The revolutionary propagandist must think in terms of hundreds, the agitator in terms of tens of thousands and the organizer and the leader of the revolution in terms of millions.”

Hitler writes in “Mein Kampf.”

“Propaganda must always address itself to the broad masses of the people. For intellectual classes or what are called intellectual classes to-day, propaganda is not suited but only scientific exposition.”

Thirdly, a propagandist in dictator countries takes a low view of human intelligence. Hitler writes :

“The intelligence of the masses is small, their forgetfulness is great. Effective propaganda must be confined to a very few issues which can be easily assimilated.”

Totalitarian propaganda is based on a contemptuous idea of common intelligence and upon a belief in the virtues of uniformity of ideas and feelings.

Fourthly, a rigid censorship is an important feature of dictator propaganda. The dictators believe that stability depends upon uniformity of ideas. They cannot and do not permit rival opinions to grow. Freedom of the press has been ruthlessly suppressed in the countries. The dull uniformity of the German Press is rather interesting. The Reich Minister not only determines what is to be written and how it is to be written, but he also dictates the size of the print and the space and place a particular article or a photograph is to occupy. There is not much to choose between one Nazi paper and another. The news that is allowed to appear is the same. It occupies an identical space and place in all the papers. The leading articles breathe the same spirit.

But this uniformity has not been achieved without the use of force, which brings us to the fifth feature of totalitarian propaganda viz., the use of physical force. Rival opinions and parties have been exterminated by the too familiar methods of castor oil and concentration camps

The success achieved by this technique of mass persuasion is remarkable. The occupation of Rhineland, Austria, Sudenland and the fall of France illustrate more the triumph of Goebbels than of Germany's armed might. They have perfected a technique of swaying the masses and enlisting their support for their nefarious policy.

A study of the propaganda tricks as they are made use of by subtle propagandists makes interesting reading.

Symbols play an important role in propaganda. The Swastika has played an important part in the rise of Hilter. The utility of symbols was recognized by the Russians during and after the civil war. Symbol is the representation of a number of ideas. In every movement, doctrine provides the motive force, the programme chalks out the line of action and slogans express the general ideas of the movement in a concentrated form. The symbol is the shorthand sign for the doctrine, the programme and the slogan. The effectiveness of the symbol depends upon its suggestibility. If it readily transmits the idea of the movement to the minds of the millions it is an effective weapon. The Nazi Swastika for example is the symbol of Aryan superiority and Nordic culture. Though Nazis have tried to trace its origin to the Aryans, the cause of its adoption by the Nazis lies in its simplicity and striking form. Hitler writes:

“An impressive sign can awaken initial interest in hundreds of millions of cases, in a new movement.”

Democratic countries have relied upon propaganda by suggestion. But here too, the lead has been given by Germany. In his treatment of Austria, Goebbels started with a terrific barrage of invective against the Jews. It was followed by violent repression and then all at once the emphasis in political propaganda was shifted from praise of the armed might of Germany to the utterly inebriate nature of the foe. After the "anschluss", Hitler ordered the celebration of "the Day of Greater German Reich." Two minutes silence was ordered and aeroplanes darkening the sky hovered over Austria. Thus the approval of the accepted might of the German armed forces was transferred to the approval of the plight of their victims.

It has been suggested that to confine political propaganda, to a few specific issues, is a useful trick. In "Mein Kampf" Hitler writes :

"The intelligence of the masses is small, their forgetfulness is great."

His conclusion is:—

"Effective propaganda must be confined to a few issues only, which can be easily assimilated. Since the masses are slow to comprehend they must be told the same thing a thousand times."

Put the propagandist must guard against parrot-like repetition. It might cause boredom and might do infinite harm to the cause it is trying to push forward.

Another common trick is to replace argument by statement. Arguments ought to be reserved for the smaller class which depends on logical processes. Dr. Goebbels writes :

"The ordinary man hates nothing more than two sidedness, to be called upon to consider this as well as that. The masses think primitively and simply."

They love to generalise complicated situations and from their generalisations to draw clear and uncompromising conclusions."

Both the apologists and critics of propaganda have much to say about consistency. Some are of the opinion that neither good nor bad, neither truth nor lie are of any consequence. What matters is consistency within a certain type and topic. The general feeling seems to be that if you space out inconsistencies sufficiently, they will disappear. At any rate, this seems to be the German method. The sinking of the German ship "Graf Spee" and the consequent German propaganda illustrate this point. At first the battle of the River Plate was hailed as a triumph of the German Navy. Later correction became necessary and the whole tune of Nazi propaganda was changed. Stress in the German press and radio was laid upon contemporary British losses in the North Sea. This was the application of the principle "change the topic and you can change the tune."

Another propaganda device which seems to have been used in the last war and has been perfected in this is the whisper and rumour campaign. Luedendorff writes:

"The transmission of news from mouth to mouth is the most dangerous means of propaganda, The idea is planted and no one knows where it came from."

Nazis have used the whisper and rumour campaign with their diabolical thoroughness. By the use of lies and rumours they succeeded in creating enmity between rival parties in the Balkans. In the earlier stages of the Polish Campaign the Nazis succeeded in creating panic and confusion behind the lines by spreading false alarms and rumours about the casualties on the front. But a rumour to be effective must have

the trappings of detail to give it verisimilitude. Quantifications are convincing because there is a widespread faith that figures do not lie.

A hearted controversy has raged among the propagandists over the use of lie in propaganda. The controversy is not ethical but psychological. Dr. Goebbels has elevated lying to the status of a fine art. Lies are his greatest allies. He relies mainly upon the forgetfulness of the masses. But propaganda in order to be effective must contain a kernel of truth in it.

Stress has been laid upon lending colour to propaganda. An average man is not interested in abstractions. A Chinese will be less interested in the implications of the Nine Power Treaty than in the romantic story of Charlie Soong whose three daughters now control the destinies of China. To Hitler colour and simplicity are essential attributes of effective propaganda. In an interesting comparison of Lloyd George and Bethmann Hollweg he attributes "the immeasurable superiority" of the British Statesman to his masterly simplicity. He writes:

"The very primitiveness of these speeches, the form of expression and the choice of easily understood simple illustrations are proofs of the Welshman's towering political capacity."

This holds good not only for the spoken word but for the written word also. Here is a story.

"The daughter of President Wilson visited Spain and fell in love with a matador. A son was born. The hard hearted President forced his daughter to return to America. The matador died and the son was left to the mercy of his penniless grand parents. They wrote to the callous President who refused to take any care of the baby."

This story which was spread in Spain, during the last war, was not intended for the intellectuals. It was meant for common consumption and relying upon an average Spaniards fondness of the matador, it was designed to do considerable damage to the only American the Spaniards knew. It had a German origin.

Humour and Cartoons are useful counter—propaganda weapons. Luckily humour is not a German characteristic. We do not come across any humour in Dr. Goebbels' propaganda. On the other hand, the number of war-time jokes in England bear an eloquent testimony to an average Englishman's sense of humour which enables him to face the grimmest odds with light heartedness and confidence.

Cartoons have great propaganda value. The Allied countries produced some very subtle and brilliant cartoonists. Strubs' cartoon depicting Hitler being lowered in the grave with the caption, "My last territorial demand in Europe," appeared just after Munich and focussed attention upon the German dictator's insatiable lust for power. During the last war the Dutchman Raemaker contributed substantially to the Allied cause, by his cartoons. One of his masterpieces depicts a group of Germans huddled in the conning tower of a submarine watching the approach of a small boat in which Christ is standing. Below is the terse caption "Seems to be a neutral, sink him." Cartoons such as these have a shattering effect.

But it is to be regretted that inspite of a long war, the democratic countries have not evolved a thoroughgoing and scientific system of counter propaganda. The allied victory against the Germans, will be the victory of their arms. At present the Nazi war machine seems to be cracking under the onslaught of Allied advance. But why is it that Germany

is still fighting? During the last war Germany collapsed much before the Allies advanced on the German soil, This time the Germans are defending their country against heavy odds and yet are fighting. The cause of this resistance is the success of Goebbels' machine. He has moulded the Germans into fanatic maniacs. After the war, German youth will be the greatest problem and responsibility of the Allies. Under the Nazi regime they have become mere automatons responding mechanically to the commands of their Fuehrer.

It is a pity that political propaganda has so far been for sordid ends. It can help in building a saner and safer world. It has immense potentialities.

Lecture VIII.

Women in Islam

By

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[Born at Allahabad, in 1920; Passed High School from city A. V. High School in 1939; Intermediate from Ewing Christian College Allahabad in 1941, B.A. and M.A. from the Allahabad University in 1943 and 1945 respectively. The following lecture on 'The Women in Islam' was delivered before the Foundation Club. Mr. Satish Chandra, M.A., presided.]

The place that women occupy and the privileges they enjoy in Islam in accordance with the commands of the Quran are in no way inferior to those of men. The notion that according to Islam a woman has no soul, and that she is the toy of her husband in his idle hours, is absolutely unfounded and betrays a complete ignorance of the teachings of the

Prophet. A number of verses of the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad clearly indicate her position; and the laws of marriage and divorce, of inheritance and widow-remarriage, are meant for her protection. Her chastity has been greatly emphasized by the Prophet. In a word, her honour and position have always been jealously guarded by the followers of Islam. The very word *haram* signifies something honourable, and shows that she is held in honour and esteem. She is not allowed to mix freely with men. The fear that the members of the opposite sexes are apt to go wrong if allowed to mix and move freely always haunted the minds of elderly patriarchs and therefore, they spared nothing to prevent the possibility of the women's meeting and mixing with *na-mahrams* and thus going wrong. The precaution was identified in the long run with living in seclusion or *pardah*.

Islam is an universal religion. The climate, the culture and the nature of different countries have always influenced the Muslim conception in all its phases. Thus the position of women in Muslim India is different from those of Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Iran, China, and Russia. The influence and reaction of the pre Islamic civilization on the true Islamic culture was natural; no religious system, however exclusive, can avoid the slow and silent influence of other systems with which it may come into contact. Islam is a practical religion, and its followers have a remarkable capacity of adapting themselves to circumstances.

Prohet Muhammad assigned perfect equality to man and woman. Later on, as the Muslim society began to grow old and circumstances changed, woman became inferior to man. For instance, by the beginning of the present century the woman in almost all countries had been relegated to an inferior position in

society. The Hindu conception is different for according to Manu, the Hindu law giver, "a woman should never be independent" Plato did not give much freedom to women, Aristotle assigned to them a subordinate position in the social economy. Confucius declared a woman dependent on man ; and the Bible too gave a similar status to her. Firdausi, the famous Persian poet, considered the woman and the dragon as dangerous creatures, fit only to be destroyed. Amir Khusrun writes that if a woman could not find her way to the grave yard, she was to be strictly confined to the four walls of a house. In his poem Diwal Rania Khizr Khan he writes that the only valuable quality of a woman is the instinct of sexual satisfaction. It was argued that a woman was not to be trusted in matters of consequence, and if it was unavoidable to consult her, the best course was to act contrary to her advice", Abbas writes in the Sher Shahi when after the battle of Chausa, a Mughal lady was captured and was presented to Sher Shah Sur, the latter said. "Take away this personification of evil and send her to the camp of my enemy Humayun." Such were the views people in various ages and countries held about women. But these views do not have any solid backing. We have evidence to believe that in all civilized countries, women have been rulers, statesman, warriors, educationists, and philosophers.

Birth.

In India both among the Muslims and the Hindus the birth of a girl is not welcomed. Even women do not feel happy about it. There was a time in the pre-Islamic Arabia, when some tribes used to consider the burying alive of infant daughters as meritorious. This practice was prevalent among the Hindus as well. Prophet Muhammad spoke very strongly against this practice. 'And do not kill your children for fear

of poverty ; we give them and yourself subsistence, surely to kill them is a great sin ! Fortunately this practice has died out in all civilized countries.

Education.

Islam favours education of women. Primary education is given to all Muslim girls. According to the Islamic Tradition, when the girl or the boy reaches the age of four years, four months and four days, he or she must take the first lesson in the Quran, the study of which is considered a necessary duty of every Muslim child. But this tendency is fast changing. The well-to-do people instead of sending their children to some Quranic School send them to the Schools to learn the three Rs. The girls of the middle class Muslim families are however, still mostly sent to the Quranic Schools or taught the Quran at home.

When a Muslim girl finishes her primary education, she is then admitted to the Zenana and is given instruction in domestic duties. Higher education in colleges is still rare among Muslim girls. Theoretically Islam preached the value of education both to men and women. But the real fact is otherwise. There was a scope for higher education for girls in many of the Islamic countries. There was a women's college of medicine and jurisprudence at Cairo ; founded by Malik-ul-Tahir in Egypt. There were colleges for advanced studies at Damascus, Baghdad, Basra and Cordova. At present the purely Muslim countries have made provision for the education of women. In Afghanistan it has advanced to the extent that a women's University for the study of medicine has been instituted at Kabul, and has five hundred students on its rolls. It is true that the Muslims in India during the Sultanate could not and did not maintain the glorious traditions of Persia, Egypt and Spain. The

most striking feature in the civilization of Muslim Spain, is the high culture of women. The Mughal Emperors, who had a taste for literature encouraged female education. We hear the names of such scholarly women as Gulbadan Begam, Sultana Salima Begam, Nur Jahan, Nadirah Begam, wife of Dara Shikah, and Zebunnissa Begam. The daughter of Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan wrote a commentary on the Quran. Zinat, the daughter of Ibrahim Sindhi, was a scholar of theology. After the fall of the Mughal Empire the Islamic culture was encouraged by the provincial dynasties. Gunna Begam, the wife of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk, Kaiji, a descendent of the Mughals, Begam Alam wife of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, and Begam Abed, the daughter of the Nawab of Rampur, are a few of the famous names in the literary world of Muslim society.

Marriage.

“All young men must marry, because marriage prevents sin, those who can not marry must fast” is the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad. In Islam marriage is a civil contract made by the mutual consent of the man and the woman. A Muslim girl who has reached the age of puberty or an age of sixteen years is free to choose, to accept or to refuse an offer. A girl who may have been married by her parents in her infancy, is authorised on attaining her majority to renounce and dissolve the contract. ‘Her consent in all cases is necessary. “A man who wishes to marry a woman may see her before marriage” is the Prophet’s injunction to his followers. A Muslim girl can not marry a heathen. Also a man is prohibited from marrying his mother, or his grand-mother ; his daughter or his grand-daughter ; his niece or his grand-niece ; his aunt or his grand-aunt and his sister. A man may not combine two sisters as co-wives. In the

Quran it is written "Marry those among you who are single and those who are not among you." Among the early Muslims these were four kinds of marriages :—

- (i) Marriage with a close relation ;—It was thought that the offspring would be of pure blood.
- (ii) Marriage with a stronger woman from warlike races were taken as wives to have better generation.
- (iii) Marriage with captives of war. as the Prophet himself married Sajiyya.
- (iv) Marriage with slave girls, particularly with a view to free them from bondage.

The marriage ceremonies are different in all Muslim countries ; but every where the essence of the Quranic institution is found. In India, the Muslim marriage starts with the Mangni or the marriage negotiations. The parents of the bridegroom after ascertaining the personal virtues, such as beauty, learning, character and age of the proposed girl, settle the marriage. On this occasion the ring and the bangles are presented to the girl on behalf of the bridegroom by the latter's parents or agents. After the various ceremonies of *Mangha*, *Sachaq*, *Mehdi*, *Barat*, *shab-gasht*, *Haldi* and *chauthi*, the marriage ceremonies comes to an end. The Nikah, however, is the main and real ceremony. In this the consent of the man and the woman is taken by the Qazi in the presence of at least two witnesses. Then the Qazi recites a few passages from the Quran and the Prophets' Tradition about conjugal relations of the persons to be wedded. In daily practice it can be seen that the marriage has become the family concern ; rather than the personal matter of the couples concerned. Islam allowed that both the girl and the boy must see each other before marriage ; but this

social right has lost much of its validity in this country. In fact the Muslim girl, at least in India, like the Hindu girl, is not free to choose, to accept or to reject an offer. In the early Hindu society too both the girl and the boy had a free hand in selecting their respective partners. If the girls or the boys insist that the marriage should not be considered a family affair but the personal matter of the couple concerned, the elders must realise that the youths are only reverting to the original practice of their ancestors. Both in Islam and Hindu the elders of the family considered it to be their duty to help their children of marriageable age to find a suitable partner. But they never compelled their children to accept a stranger whom they had never seen.

In pre-Islamic Arabia, a man might have any number of wives. But Islam limited the number, to one, with provision to add to the number, provided one could treat them with full *justice and equity* in his relations with them as a husband. Thus the tendency according to Muslim law is rather towards monogamy. The Prophet himself had had seven wives, but there were circumstances both social and political, that compelled him to have so many wives. Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs had large harems. The large majority of the poor people never seem to have had more than one wife. It were only the rich who had many wives. The Sultan of Turkey was the last in the modern times to have a large harem. These days, the only institution which can give us some idea of old harem is the modernised harems of Nawab of Hyderabad and Rampur and Bhopal.

It is interesting to note that the educated section of Muslim women in our country raised their voice against this practice of polygamy. In the All India Muslim Ladies Conference a resolution was passed by its members, in 1924

declaring that they would not arrange the marriage of their daughters with a man already married. Strangely enough only five years before that, in 1919 the same body could not pass a similar resolution. The young Muslim educated woman who moved this resolution was bitterly criticised by the Muslim Press of the country. But is worthy of note that polygamy is dying out in this country. The growth of education, the economic problem and the higher standard of society have give a death blow to this old custom.

Divorce:—

Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said :—" The thing most disliked by God is divorce." According to the Muslim law, the man who divorces his wife has to pay for her maintenance, till she marries some one else. Although theoretically protected by the provisions, it is hard for a woman to divorce his husband. But a divorced woman¹ does demand the promised amount of dowry or maintenance allowance fixed on the day of marriage. A divorced woman, in our country, divorced in many cases for the most trivial reasons, is a helpless outcast, conspicuously unwelcome in any home. Only a modern educated lady can dare to appear in the court to demand a divorce from her husband.

The latest modified Muslim marriage Act of 1939 has re-established the original rule laying down that a Muslim woman can divorce her husband an the following grounds. (i) If the whereabouts of the husband are unknown for a period of four years. (ii) failure on the part of husband to provide for the maintenance of the wife for a period of two years, (iii) if the husband is sentenced for seven years or more ; and the last, (iv) for impotency, insanity, and cruelty on the part of the husband. But the fact is that those who are not educated suffer most at the hands of their husband

and the theoretical safe-guard of divorce is hardly of any value for them. The Muslim marriage, like the Hindu marriage, resolves itself in to an association of one accounted *superior*, bound to protect and support an *inferior*, whose ignorance makes her dependent, helpless and incapable. Islam gives no right to a man to ill-treat his wife, to enforce obedience on her, to beat her, to keep her in ignorance, to make a common drudge of her. But the fact is that the traditional custom have given the man unlimited powers, as for as his wife is concerned. Marriage may be a sacred tie. and divorce against all spiritual law; but it can never be right to continue living with a partner who degrades one, or prevent one from calling one's soul one's own. Dignified separation by mutual agreement is the lesser evil, and more worthy of rational human beings than angry and irritating discussion. I am prepared to justify the divorce of a Muslim woman on the condition prescribed by the Islamic law, but I am unable to agree to the modern conception of divorce of the west where it is being misused publicly. It will not be out of place to suggest that the Hindu law givers must make a provision of this kind to protect the daughters of their society. The system of divorce was known in this country during the Vedic days. The circumstances demand that this practice be reinstated and some checks placed upon men to improve the miserable status of our women folk.

Widow remarriage.

Islam allowed re-marriage of the widows. The history of mankind has proved that the woman must remain dependent always on some one from the time of her birth to the last day. As a daughter she is under the protection of her father. As a married woman she is under the care of her husband. But the valuation changes when she becomes a widow, who

has hardly any one to help her Khadija the first wife of the Prophet Muhammad, had been twice married, before she came to the Prophet. Out of the seven the six wives of the Prophet were formerly widows. This is a contribution of Islamic tradition and culture. In early Hindu days widow marriage was allowed but reasons are not available to show the causes of its disappearance from the Hindu Society. In a community or Society, where there is the custom of child marriage, the widow marriage must be encouraged. There are child marriages among the Hindus and the Muslim, but among the Hindus, there is no provision for the poor child widows who are forced to go astray for the society has no provision for them. In a Hindu family the child widow is regarded as the most sinful creature. She is disowned by both the families, and leads the most miserable life. In short, widow marriage is a noble institution of Islam.

Chastity of Woman.

In our times a very exaggerated value is put on the chastity of woman exactly in the same measure as its absence among men is no serious care of our society. Islam enjoins chastity on both sexes very strictly. The major portion of a chapter (No. 24) in the Quran is devoted to the subjects of seclusion (*pardah*) and chastity. We read there: "The adulteror shall not marry save an adultress or an idolatress, and the adultress, none shall marry her but an adultror or an idolator. Those who accuse true woman, and can not bring four witness flog them with eighty of stripes and do not accept ever afterwards their testimony." Amir Khusru writes that a girl who had any reflection cast on her chastity could never expect to find any suitable person to marry her, even though the accusation were proved to be absolutely groundless. The poet advices every honest girl to die rather than submit to the disgrace of the society.

Domestic Life :—

“ The best of you in the eye of God is one who treats his wife the best”, said the Prophet Muhammad to his followers. This is a noble sentiment, so well and simply expressed. The Islamic laws do not allow the husband to force his wife to prepare meals for his guests. Not only this ; a Muslim wife is not compelled even to suckle milk to her child, and has the right to refuse to do so in which case her husband—the child’s father—must appoint a wet-nurse for the baby. An ideal wife is considered one, who is content, submissively equal and devoted to her husband. According to Islam a man having more than one wife must provide each with all possible comforts and give each one an equal share of his love. The Quran preaches “You have rights over your wives, and they have rights over you. They must not be faithless to you, and you must treat them with loving kindness.” Yet what shame, that a majority of the people should consider their wives as mere toys for their pleasure or something worse than servants and slaves !

Pardah System :—

The Quran lays down the rule *equally for men and women* that “ they can move about and earn their living, and must cast down their looks, and guard the private parts of their body. It orders the women folk not to display their ornaments.” This is, strictly speaking, the Qur’anic and Muslim conception of the *Purdah*.

There is no evidence to show that the Muslims are responsible for introducing the *Pardah* system in India. It is evident that there was no *Pardah* during the early Vedic age but we find a partial form of *Parrah* which is called *Ghoonghat* during the time of the Epics. But the present *Pardah* system took its modern form during the

Muslim rule. Many Muslim historians argue that Islam has nothing to do with this institution as we understand it today. We have an interesting example in the behaviour of the Abbaside caliphs, who used to sit behind a curtain, well-guarded from the public eye. This seclusion, as a sign of dignity and honour, may have developed into the regular observance and the institution of *Pardah*.

Persons arguing in favour of the *Pardah* system have their own reasons. They claim that a woman secluded from the male society will engage herself in household affairs, and will prove a faithful better half; for a woman who is masculine in her appearance, habits, speech and action—as is the case with the women of the West—looses her feminine charms and attractions. Those who favour this system seem to think that the sight and companionship of women would tempt men beyond control. The position of the *Pardah* system during the Muslim rule in India may be summed up thus: The masses or the peasant women abused *Pardah*. The women of the higher classes moved about in palanquins. The veils were in use among the ladies of the middle classes'. An author in the early days of this century writes about the *Pardah* women, "Their existence even is ignored, it is bad manners to refer to the wife of a visitor, except in the vague phrase 'your veiled ones.' But he observes that the daughters of Islam consider the *Pardah* as a sign of dignity. He further states that the poor classes cannot afford much domestic privacy.

Nowadays, the *Pardah* is observed mainly by the middle class families, while the ladies of the higher families are fastly giving it up. They draw their inspiration from such highly placed Muslim ladies as the Princess of Berar, Lady Shah Nawaz, Lady Wazir Hasan, Lady Ali Imam,

Lady Abdul Qadir, Miss Fatima Jinnah and others. Likewise, as a rule the Muslim girls who are getting higher University or college education do not observe *Pardah*. They move about like the Hindu girls. The times are not far off when this system which has no religious and social justification will die out. Outside India too, one finds that the movement for removing *Pardah* was so strong in Tehran that a deputation of well-known women waited on their Prime Minister to request him to help them in their attempt at emancipation. The representatives of Muslim women of the Russian Turkistan met in a conference at Moscow in 1921, where they denounced the *Pardah*, and their slogan was "We who have been slaves of slaves are now entering a life of freedom." For generations, the Muslim women have been forced to stay shut up within the four walls of their homes and look after the household affairs and children. Now the broad currents of progressive ideas are sweeping the world. New ideas have reached the most secluded corners of the *zanana*, and the time has come for the Muslim women to rise up and play their part in the general welfare of the society.

The future of Muslim women is very hopeful. The public opinion in Muslim society is fast waking up to the wrong done to its women folk. There was a time when the idea of an independent life, apart from the life of marriage was foreign to the thoughts of the ordinary Muslim women, but a stage has come when women shall keep pace with the male members of the society. Modesty is the charm of young womanhood, goodness is the quality that endears women at all ages.

Lecture IX

Poland and the Soviet Union

By

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Poland is a country of "the plains." She has no natural frontiers to protect her. This has been the grim tragedy of her history. Armies have marched accross her prostrate body and trampled over her. She has shown in her history an amazing capacity of recovery. She has played also the game of power-politics and at one time her frontiers stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This was achieved through dynastic marriages, alliances and conquest. But since the year 1569 when the Union of Poland with Lithuania was solemnized, destiny has played many tricks with the people inhabiting the vast tracts of Eastern and Centaal Europe. The map has shown many changes of fortune. New nations have arisen and old frontiers have lost their meaning and validity.

But a section of the Poles still dreams of the ancient frontiers of her vast empire. For them history has stood still since the marriage of Lithuania with Poland and the wars of Casimir the Great. Innumerable peoples released from the prisons of the Tsarist and central empires have developed and grown. It is not possible to bottle them up within the old frontiers today.

A free Poland came to birth in the fires of the last great war and of the Russian Socialist Revolution. But she was not willing to accept strictly ethnognaphical frontiers. She coveted territories inhabited by overwhelming majorities

of other races. The Poles are a proud people. They wished Poland to play a decisive part in shaping the destiny of Europe.

I quote from Alexander Skrzynski's book "Poland and Peace." He was the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs and ought to know what he is saying : "It is not to be wondered at that when repression suddenly ceased and a new page in history began, the Poles saw such a hopeful future before them, such a sentiment of pride in the part their country might play, that nothing seemed too audacious, too difficult to the Polish masses, especially to the educated classes, which in a young country represent the most dynamic element.....For an imaginative person nothing could compare with this picture of a Polish state surrounded by a chain of greater or lesser states beginning somewhere around the frozen Finnish lakes and ending near the Caucasus Mountains ; all these states trusting Poland, following her, listening to her advice, but fearing and hating the oppressor of yesterday, Russia."—[Pages 38—39.

The role of Poland in relation to the Soviet Union was to be that of "barbed wire." Polish politicians were willing to play this role intended for her by Allied statesmen, but they were not willing to accept the frontiers demarcated for them by the Supreme Council. Under the leadership of Marshal Pilsudski they stretched out their hands for the "lost provinces". The Polish army marched into Kiev. It attacked Lithuania and took away from her Vilna ; actions which made even the mild Lord Asquith vent this outburst :—

"There was Poland six months ago, a population stricken with disease and famine, and, it is not an exaggeration to say, on the verge of national bankruptcy and it was under these

circumstances that she started this campaign. Her avowed object was to get rid of the comparatively limited frontier, not an ungenerous frontier..... and to go beyond it to the ancient boundaries of Poland of 1772. As I say, it was a purely aggressive adventure. It was a wanton enterprise."

[House of Commons speech, August 10th, 1920.

The Poles rejected the offer of the Soviet Union to negotiate with them about the Eastern boundaries of Poland. "When on January 29th, 1920 the Soviet Government proposed to Poland the beginning of peace negotiations, sentiment for federalist theory was at its height. The proposals for peace were not given any serious consideration. The most radical, but at the same time patriotic, Polish parties did not see in them anything beneficial. When, however, parliamentary and democratic policy did not permit them to be left without an answer the question of the place where the negotiations might be held was raised in such an offensive spirit that the whole question stopped at that point." Thus runs the comment of Count Skrzynski, former Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs. [Poland and Peace, page 40.

The Soviet Government rejected these proposals because they considered any interference by Allied politicians as unnecessary and wanted to negotiate directly with Poland. They were even willing to grant her more favourable terms than those suggested by Lord Curzon. The telegraphic reply sent by Chicherin to Lord Curzon was as follows :—

"Direct negotiations with Poland are in full harmony with the wishes of the Soviet Government and it declares, therefore, that if the Polish Government addressed to Russia the proposal of entering into peace negotiations, the Soviet Government will not reject its proposal and will also consider

in the most friendly spirit any subsidiary proposal as to an armistice or some other means meant to facilitate peace negotiations. The Soviet Government expresses also its willingness to agree to a territorial frontier more favourable to the Polish people than frontiers indicated by the Supreme Council in December last and again proposed by the British Government in its ultimatum of July 12th."

The Polish Government rejected the proposals because it was not in favour of ethnographic frontiers and hoped to achieve its aims better with the help of armed force.

The Poles marched into Kiev. The young Red Army replied by marching on Warsaw. It was in these circumstances that the Allied Supreme Council proposed the Curzon line as a basis of armistice. The offer of mediation was rejected by both sides.

Pilsudski managed to beat the Red Army and Lenin had to conclude the Treaty of Riga (March 18, 1921) with Poland under the same circumstances as the treaty with Germany. He wanted to stabilise the situation at home and had to sacrifice several million Russians who passed under Polish rule.

The territories beyond the Curzon Line occupied by Poland after the Treaty of Riga are mostly Russian and Ukrainian. Eight million Ukrainians and three million Byelo-Russians constitute the overwhelming majority in these regions. There are very few Poles. In the district of Polesie, for example, the Poles constitute only 7 to 8 per cent of the population. Bernard Pares in his book "Russia and the Peace" has the following remarks to make about the frontier imposed by Poland on the Soviet Government :

"There was nothing in Geography to suggest this frontier line—its sole significance had nothing to do with Poland : it was approximately the line where the Russians had held the

Germans at bay from the autumn of 1915 to the Revolution. The population was just the same on both sides. The line cut White-Russia almost exactly in half ; if either side had half of it, why not all ? On the Russian side lay the White-Russian Republic centred at Minsk, with full language rights and no discrimination of race. What a challenge to face ! On the Polish side there were vast estates of Polish nobles and squires which had survived the earlier period of Russian rule, imbedded in an impoverished Russian population.....This was one of those unhappy parts of the world where class corresponded with race, where the rich spoke one language and the poor another. Attempts were made to settle Polish peasants here as a national fringe on an otherwise indefensible frontier, but these efforts did not have time to take effect." [Russia and the Peace, pp. 86-7.

How the Polish Government treated the subject population of these occupied territories can be read in Mr. Lloyd George's book, " The Truth About the Peace Treaties " in the section devoted to the ill-treatment of minorities in general :

" Poland is one of the worst offenders. She actually repudiated the Minority Treaty at Geneva in 1934, by a unilateral declaration, in which her delegate laid it down that the provisions of the Treaty would no longer be regarded as applicable to Poland, so long as all the Powers, meaning the Great Powers, declined to make it applicable to themselves.

" One of the greatest breaches of faith relates to her treatment of the claim by the Ruthenes (or Ukrainians), to local autonomy, for at least Eastern Galicia. There are some 6½ millions of this race on her territory, of whom roughly half reside in Eastern Galicia, which even under the old Habsburg monarchy enjoyed a limited measure of Home Rule. In June, 1919, the Supreme Council authorised Poland to

occupy the territory, and to establish a civil government, but only "after having fixed with the Allied and Associated Powers an agreement, whose clauses shall guarantee as far as possible the autonomy of this territory, and the political, religious and personal liberties of the inhabitant. This agreement shall be based on the right of free disposition, which, in the last resort, the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia are to exercise regarding their political allegiance."

"In March, 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors assigned Eastern Galicia to Poland in full sovereignty, this decision, however, being prepared by a clause stating that it is recognized by Poland that, as regards the Eastern part of Galicia, the ethnographical conditions necessitate a regime of autonomy. By that time, it should be observed, Poland was also bound by the provisions of the Minority Treaty.. Nevertheless, she has since had recourse to the most oppressive measures for Polishising the Ruthenes, the persecution in their case extending even to the religious domain. For the majority of the Ruthenes, belong either to the Uniate Church or to the Orthodox, whereas the Poles are, of course, Roman Catholics. Needless to say, no attempt has ever been made by Poland to fulfil the local autonomy which conditioned the cession to her of Eastern Galicia. In 1930 the Polish persecution in Eastern Galicia took so violent a form that the problem of the so-called 'pacification' of that country was brought up before the League Council, owing to the pressure of British public opinion.

'Poland's persecution of her Jewish minority was, down to the economic crisis of 1929, intermittent and comparatively mild. Since then, however, it has steadily grown until it has reached the point when the Polish government openly declared at Geneva that they must get rid of at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ million of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews now living within their borders. At the

same time the Polish government declare that they do not encourage, but repress, any violent attack on the Jews. The truth is that, if not the Central Government, at any rate the local authorities, do tolerate if they do not incite Jew-baiting in varying degrees of violence. Nor can it be desired that there is now a wholesale discrimination against the Jewish minority in every sphere, in flagrant breach of the Minority Treaty."

This is a very moderate version of the treatment meted out to the minorities and Jews by free Poland. The account is given by a British statesman who could not be described as friend of the Soviets by any stretch of imagination.

The reports in certain radical newspapers are a little more blunt. The Manchester Guardian reported on the 10th of October, 1938:

"Another 'pacification' of the Polish Ukraine has been going on since the early spring. In the autumn of 1930 the Polish Ukraine was 'pacified' by detachments of Polish Cavalry and mounted police who went from village to village arresting peasants and carrying out savage floggings and destroying property—the number of peasants who were flogged ran into many thousands. This time the 'pacification' is taking on other forms; a general assault on Ukrainian political, educational and economic organization has been going on almost without intermission."

The correspondent of the "Daily Herald" gives the following description of Jew-baiting in the issue of the 27th of November, 1937:

"Along with the drive for their forced emigration, the Jews of Poland have, since the death of Pilsudski in May, 1935, been undergoing an unceasing physical terror, as cruel as

any in the long, tragic history of anti-Jewish persecution. There can be no other community so afraid and despairing as I have found the Polish Jews today

"Hundreds of pogroms, large and small, have taken place during the past two and a half years. The chief attacks have been reserved for Jewish centres removed from the very large cities where the presence of foreigners acts as a deterrent. Since May, 1935, more than 150 Jews have been killed, and thousands injured in Jew-baiting attacks. Thousands have been beaten up in the streets and public places. Many hundreds of Jewish shops and stores have been destroyed, wrecked, bombed and pillaged. Hundreds of houses have been burnt down. Many synagogues have been desecrated.....Scores of thousands have been reduced to starvation level through loss of business and homes... ..The Polish Premier has admitted that in the province of Bialystok alone there took place last year no fewer than 348 attacks on Jews. These onslaughts included 21 large-scale pogroms."

The Soviet Union faithfully observed her non-aggression Pact with Poland in spite of the terrible ill-treatment of her nationals. When Polish resistance against Germany had collapsed and the Polish government was in headlong flight, the Soviet government stepped in and saved her own people and territories from German enslavement. These Ukrainians and White-Russians who have known a life of freedom under socialist economy can never again return to a life of serfdom and oppression under their former Polish masters. It is not always possible to reverse the wheel of history.

What was the social and economic structure of Poland which directly influenced her political policies?

"Out of every hundred inhabitants of Poland sixty-five make their living by agriculture, fourteen by industry and

mining, eight by commerce and transport, thirteen by all other means.”—Skrzynski.

Of less 17 million and odd hectaves of arable land, more than 8 million are owned by large state-holders, owning estates of more than 500 hectaves each. There are 6,587 such properties, the average being 1,268 hectaves. The medium sized properties, that is, estates of less than 500 hectaves but above 100 comprise over 3 million hectaves.

Two-thirds of all the present properties belong to the very poor who have to work on other farms in order to make a living. 15 per cent, of the rural population possesses no property whatever. It is in the fullest sense of the term an agricultural proletariat.

These figures are taken from Skrzynski's book and may be somewhat out of date. But they give us a fairly accurate picture of the backward economy of Poland so painfully reflected in her political orientation. The Polish Brains Trust in London makes the following admission in the report of its meeting held at the Caxton Hall, on January 22nd, 1944 :

“After his coup d'etat in 1926 Pilsudski established a ‘strong hand rule’ taking drastic measures against any opposition. After Pilsudski's death, his successors joined hands with the extreme nationalists and the regime became a sort of semi-fascism. For a certain period before this war extreme nationalist tendencies were growing in Poland, particularly among the young generation.”

These admissions could not be exaggerations as they are being distributed free of charge in our country along with a lot of other expensive anti-Soviet literature.

The territories grabbed by the Polish government after the Treaty of Riga are thus characterized by Count Skrzynski :

“Under the Treaty of Riga, Poland received one-third of the White Russian ethnographical territory, two-thirds of what is called Polesie, not defined from the ethnographical point of view and forming a transition between the White Russians and the Ukrainians (or the so-called ‘Little Russians’), and finally the western part of Volhynia with a population comprising a majority of Ukrainians. To these must also be added Eastern Galicia with a population of about 3 million Ukrainians and a strip running along the Eastern Russian frontier some 200 kilometres wide, with a non-Polish majority.....There are in Poland, in the territory of the counties of Vilna, Nowogrodek, Polesie and Bialystok, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million White Russians. The number of Ukrainians living in the territory of Volhynia and in the three counties of Lwow, Tarnopol and Stanislawow (Eastern Galicia) is over four millions [Poland and Peace, pages 78--79.

The aim of Poland in taking these lands inhabited by non-Polish people is thus explained by the frank, plain-spoken Count:

“Poland took these provinces which are inhabited by a majority of White Russians and Ukrainians, in order to regain at least a part of her former land reserves for the purpose of colonizing the surplus of her population.”

How Poland has discharged her duties towards these people, has been amply made clear from the comments of impartial observers like Asquith and Lloyd George. Two social systems separated this preponderantly Russian area. The moral frontier dividing them consisted of Polish bayonets. Bernard Pares thus describes Marshal Pilsudski's talk with him :

"In the one long talk which I had with Marshal Pilsudski in 1922, he told me he had just come back from a part of the state where the population was 80 per cent Orthodox, which of course meant Russian, and he illustrated by a picturesque anecdote the moral frontier which separated the Polish troops quartered there from the surrounding population". [Russia and the Peace, page 87.

The picture would be incomplete without some description of the Soviet Ukraine looking across the barbed wire frontier at her people under Polish rule. The Dean of Canterbury gives a glowing account of Soviet Ukraine in his book "The Socialist Sixth of the World":

"The Ukraine advances with mighty strides. It still holds its lead as the coal, iron and steel base of the U. S. S. R. Figures of production leap ahead, and in coal the Ukraine by itself outstrips Poland, France and Japan, in iron ore it outstrips Germany, England, Sweden and Spain. The Kirov Iron and Steel Works at Makeyevka alone produce as much pig iron as Poland and Italy together.

"Machinery pours forth tractors to turn up as much Black Earth soil in an hour as a horse ploughs in a day; steam turbo-generators to light cottages, cook meal, and iron clothes, locomotives for new railways, and harvester for the combines for the wheat-fields of the steppes.

"The Soviet Ukraine no longer asks for foreign engineers or foremen. The sons and daughters of her own peasants and workers serve her now, trained in her own schools, colleges and technical institutes.

"Ukrainians are proud—proud of their traditions and proud of their national tongue. The Ukraine has her bards and her writers.....

"Now the Ukrainian tongue is free and Ukrainian culture welcomed. Ukrainian children are taught in their mother-tongue....." [Pages 116—117.]

Reading this, one can understand the heroic resistance of the Ukrainians against Hitler's armies so movingly described by Vassily Grossman in his novel "The People Immortal."

On the eve of the War the Polish government was easily one of the most conservative and reactionary in Europe. It held its own people in economic and political bondage. Its treatment of national minorities was indefensible. In the foreign sphere its policy was grab and run. It is difficult to see how it was not a minor version of the Nazi regime in Germany. One of the greatest Polish scientists Infeld, a collaborator of Einstein and a Jew unhappily found it difficult to work in Poland and had to leave for America. He gives the following description of political conditions in Poland during the years preceding the War :

"The political scene in Poland changed rapidly. One of the important factors which determined the general trend of events was Pilsudski's death. His personality had held together men with different social outlooks. In the year 1935—36, the last I spent in Poland, great changes began to occur. The friction within the government became common knowledge. The internal struggle was too bitter to be kept secret.

"Workers demonstrated against the weak government. In Lwow the police shot into a workers' peaceful demonstration and the mob, making use of the chaos, smashed windows in Jewish houses and plundered Jewish shops. One day when I went from my peaceful street to the University through the centre of town I came upon broken windows, plate-glass

shop-windows smashed and replaced by wood, signs shattered by stones. Cafes were deserted and their great square windows broken. Lwow's gay streets were empty. Patrolling policemen and a few passers-by were the only visible signs of life on pavements covered with rubbish and broken glass. There was broken glass everywhere. It broke in still smaller pieces under the pressure of my shoes, and its crunching accompanied each step which led me through the empty streets. News of the riots circulated privately. The newspapers were forbidden to mention it.

"The temperature at the universities rose to the boiling point. Even in our small department the tension and the anti-semitic mood were present. Students belonging to the most brutal anti-Jewish societies wore small green badges on their jackets.....

"Lectures were disturbed and Jews beaten by well-organized gangs. This was the usual procedure: a gang planning an attack on one department, Physics for instance, was selected from a different school, such as the Veterinarian. They would arrive suddenly, each carrying a stick. In the handles of some of the sticks a narrow groove had been cut and a razor blade inserted so that its sharp edge was barely visible. Having pushed the attendant away, they would rush to the lecture room and beat the Jewish students with the sticks and razor blades until the blood flowed. Then they would quickly vanish. The whole performance took a few seconds. All the details had been planned beforehand.

"From time to time deaths occurred....." [Quest. pp. 152—3.

The London Poles are still thinking in terms of an East European Federation which would form a "cordon sanitaire"

against the Soviet Union and be dominated by Poland. This would be a chain of East European states stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and be an impregnable barrier against any socialist influence flowing into Western Europe and the rest of the capitalist world. This is a revival of the old dreams of Pilsudski. Like the Bourbons the London Poles too seem to have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

The aim of the proposed union was thus explained by Raczynsky, Minister for Foreign Affairs to a representative of the Sunday Times :—

“A centre of forces capable of ensuring collaboration for the purpose of maintaining European equilibrium must be created. Poland occupies a key position in Europe. It will be the centre of attraction for other countries, from Lithuania, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia to Hungary and the Balkan group of countries. Obviously Poland counts on being able to play such a role.”

The roles designed for the various countries in this federation would be in the words of another Polish minister, Marian Seyda, as follows :

“The Baltic countries would bring to the future federation their love of labour and highly developed social spirit. Poland her moral and cultural traditions, as well as the consciousness of her mission in Eastern Europe. Czecho-Slovakia in her splendidly organized industry and industrious population, while Hungary, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia would supply extremely valuable materials.”

It may be noticed that other countries are to supply labour, raw materials, industry etc. and Poland her splendid cultural traditions and her mission in history !

The Soviet journal "War and the Working class" comments on this scheme in its number dated July 15, 1943 as follows:—

"Among the most energetic advocates of the East European Federation are the reactionary groups of Polish emigres, ranging from the disguised Beck supporters to the social democrats, as well as representatives of the Polish government in London. These gentlemen still cherish hopes that the imperialist intentions of the Polish pens will be realised and seek to obtain in the East European Federation a new basis for the realisations of their intentions, trying to fit their plans for the organization of post-war Europe into these aims. Careful examination of these plans immediately exposes the imperialist aspirations of the Polish gentry although they try to hide them behind a lot of talk about the security of the Central European States, the political balance of power in Europe and the safeguarding of a lasting and stable peace."

The Poles have suffered terribly in their history. A free and independent Poland is the pre-condition for any peace in Europe. This is admitted by the Soviet Union. The official Soviet statement broadcast from the Moscow Radio on January 10, 1944 stresses these points:

"A just striving of the Polish people for their complete unification into a strong and independent state must receive recognition and support." On the question of Poland's frontiers, it lays down that "the regions in which the Polish population predominates may be handed over to Poland."

The Soviet Government also declares that regions in the Polish corridor and Upper Silesia previously wrested from Poland by Germany are to be handed over to her. "Poland's western borders must be extended through the incorporation

into Poland of the ancient Polish lands previously wrested by Germany and without which it is impossible to unite the whole Polish people in its state, which thereby will receive the necessary outlet to the Baltic Sea."

Of these territories Count Skrzynski had written in the year 1923:

"The Treaty of Versailles established her frontiers only in respect of Germany, and even then not completely, but leaving out three sectors, the fate of which depended on the result of plebiscites to be organized later.

"Two such territories there were in the north of Poland, parts of East Prussia on the right bank of the Vistula comprising the departments of Sztum, Stulp and part of the districts of Malborg and Marienverder, as well as the Southern part of West Prussia comprising the province of Olstein. Those two sections embrace a territory of about 15,000 square kilometres, with 700,000 inhabitants, in overwhelming majority composed of Mazurs, ethnographically Polish, but belonging to the Protestant Church and not conscious of their nationality.

"At the South-West, the plebiscite area embraced the ethnographically Polish part of Upper Silesia, comprising an area of 10,753 square kilometres, with over 2 million inhabitants." [Poland and Peace, page 30.

But while an independent and strong Poland should be a pre-condition of any European settlement, it should not become a base for political reaction and a plague-spot for the future.

The Soviet Union is a great and unique experiment in history. During twenty-five years of its life, it has built up 'a new civilization' over one-sixth of the earth's surface. This new civilization which has ended once for all the exploitation of man by man should not be undermined by enemies of human freedom.

The Soviet Union has shown its willingness to build up friendly relations with a free Poland. She concluded an agreement with the London Polish government which people like General Sosnowski, even now firmly entrenched in the counsels for the London Poles, did not approve of. When the German Radio circulated an atrocity story against the Soviets, the London Polish government appealed along with Germans to the International Red Cross, as though the Soviet Union were an enemy power with whom it had no formal relations. It was then that the Soviet Union broke off relations with the London Poles.

The Crimea Agreement tries to lay the basis of the establishment of 'a strong, free, independent and democratic Poland.' The three powers will work towards a broadening "of the Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland by the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad."

"A detailed procedure, based on the general principles enunciated for Europe as a whole, is laid down—by which a new Provisional Government of National Unity will be formed, recognized by the Three Powers, and free elections for a democratic government will be held. All this will be achieved through the assistance of a Commission composed of M. Molotov and the United States and British ambassadors in Moscow, who will consult with the Provisional Government and other Polish leaders to this end.

"The eastern boundaries of the new Poland are settled—the reunion of 8 million Ukrainians and three million Byelorussians with their people being recognized. The final delimitation of the western and northern frontiers will await the opinion of the new Provisional Government."

[Peoples' War, February 18, 1945.]

It must be the hope of all honest men that this may be a sure and strong foundation for a new and democratic Poland friendly towards her neighbours and respecting their rights.

[Mr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., : born 1909 at Bhakkar in the Punjab ; educated among other places at Government High School, Cawnpore and Allahabad University ; M.A. (English) in 1931. Brilliant academic career, first class in High School, Intermediate, B.A. and M.A. ; joined St. John's College, Agra, as Lecturer in English in 1931 and served there for 10 years ; joined English Department, Allahabad University in 1941 ; Secretary, U. P. Branch of the English Association, also of 'the Progressive Writers' Association ; has written some papers on modern English literature collected in a volume entitled "Studies and Sketches" ; an acute Hindi scholar and critic ; author of two books in Hindi, one 'Rekha-Chitra', a series of sketches, and the other on Progressive Trends in Modern Hindi Literature ; keenly interested in Marxism and the Marxian interpretation of life and literature. His talk on 'Poland and the Soviet Union' was the eighth lecture of the Subba Rao Series and was delivered at the Foundation Club with Mr. S. S. Gupta, M.A. in the chair.]

Lecture X.

Will Europe go Bolshevik After the War ?

By

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As the war in the west draws to a conclusion, more and more people are speculating, with mingled doubts, hopes and misgivings in their hearts, on the tangled question of Europe's future. One of the most persistent of queries, as also the one foreshadowing the most far reaching consequences, is, will Europe go Communist after the war? Obviously, this is a problem which will be decided both by the policies of the three Great Powers, Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and the attitude of the European people themselves. Let us first examine the policies of the Great Powers.

At the Moscow Conference, these three powers declared that the people of Europe would have the right "to choose the form of government under which they desired to live." It is a tremendous promise, but those of us who remember Wilson's Fourteen Points and their subsequent fate may well feel doubtful how far it will be implemented. Europe may

be divided into spheres of influence by these Great Powers, each being left free to determine the social order and the form of government in its own sphere, thus inaugurating a new era of power politics. To the cynical and sceptical politicians of the old school, this may appear inevitable, but let us see how far this gloomy assumption is justified.

British statesmen have always considered it necessary for the imperial interests of Britain either to maintain a strong coalition or to hold the balance between two groups of equally matched powers on the continent. In their eyes, this war has only proved the necessity of such a policy. Further it is an axiom of power politics that in a coalition between (self-seeking) powers, one must not be allowed to grow manifestly stronger than the others. For this reason, whether the present coalition lasts or not, after this war, British statesmen will employ all their ingenuity in devising a counter-weight to the Russian colossus. Germany and Japan have proved themselves unreliable tools for such a purpose. A better method may be to set up on the Continent governments favourable to Britain as opposed to Russia. The United States is likely to lend full support to such a scheme because, as regards Communism, the attitude of both the British and the American ruling classes is essentially one. They detest it. For almost a quarter of a century the "Red Bogey" has haunted them. It is no secret that having failed to destroy it by intervention, they encouraged Fascism as its best anti-dote. This policy led to the tragedy of Munich and the disaster of France. Yet, the British ruling class does not change its ideas easily, as we know well enough to our cost; nor does Mr. Churchill, who once declared that "Communism destroys the soul of a nation." To-day he has temporized and compromised but not changed fundamentally. If the people of Europe chose

to live under Communism, would Churchill permit it? It is inconceivable that he should do so, on the morrow of victory and for the sake of a mere principle. To leave Europe to the domination of Communism after fighting to prevent Hitler from doing so would make this war worse than useless from Churchill's point of view. Loss of extensive markets apart, not even the British Navy or the Atlantic Ocean would be able to stop the new "invasion" of ideas that would follow inevitably. Bernard Shaw says that the Englishman is "a man of principles. He fights you on patriotic principles, robs you on business principles, and enslave you on imperial principles. He bullies you on manly principles; he supports his king on loyal principles; and cuts off his head on republican principles." This applies equally to the British ruling class. When one principle works against their interests they appeal to another. It requires some subtlety of mind to do this and that is where the English public school comes in. It may well have been said that "the British Empire was won on the playing fields of Eton and Harrow." This war is being fought for democracy, but if that means Communism—the disturbance of the principle of law and order (the law of private profit and the order of the rule of capital)—why then it is the Englishman's duty not to allow this to happen. Thereafter, it becomes a moral principle to set up firmly governments which will continue to uphold the principle of "law and order," after the British armies of occupation have been withdrawn.

All this is not mere speculation. This is what the Anglo-Americans have actually been trying to do—in Yugoslavia where they supported the renegade Michailovitch against Tito; in Italy where they set up the reactionary Amgot, tried to keep the ex-Fascist Badoglio in power and lent support to the discredited monarchy; in France where they picked out

Giraud and refused recognition to de Gaulle till events in France made a continuation of that policy impossible ; in Spain for whose dictator Franco, Churchill had kind words to say ; in the case of the die-hard Polish Government in London which they yet hope to install as the future government of Poland ; and lastly even in France. As the noted authority, Prof. F. L. Schuman says, it is difficult to resist the conclusion than "the official programme of London and Washington is to win the war with the aid of old elite groups and conservatives of all varieties and at the same time prevent social revolution in the wake of victory." Uptil now, the imperial candidates have been defeated everywhere. The organized strength of Tito's Army of National Liberation, the courage and resilience of the French Underground forces and the firm unity of the Italian people backed by Soviet diplomacy, have led to the recognition of the governments preferred by the people. Thus, the people of Europe are having their way even in countries which are under Anglo-American occupation.

We come now to the Soviet Union. Soviet foreign policy is, in general, so little understood that it is constantly called enigmatic. This is not surprising when we consider that uptil the German attack, the outside world had little correct information about the Soviet Union. A corner of the curtain has now been lifted. Soviet foreign policy can be seen in a truer light, and it is now realized that in the period between the wars it worked for peace most consistently. There are some, however, who cannot yet give up the once popular pastime of "red-baiting." They talk glibly of a "red-imperialism," and call Stalin a reincarnation of Peter the Great. Russia, they assure us, will use the pretext of spreading Socialism as a cloak for her imperialist expansion. Let us see how far this charge is borne out by Soviet diplomacy.

The fundamental aim of the Soviet foreign policy has been to attain security from foreign aggression while she built up Socialism at home. Security could be secured either by the domination of Europe, or an overwhelmingly strong coalition, or a favourable balance of power on the continent. The first was the path of the Comintern, the second is now in operation, while the third was tried before the war when the first two could not be realized. Obviously, only the first, namely the policy of world revolution need concern us here. A digression into the circumstances which made the Bolsheviks resort to this policy after the Revolution will take us far from the subject in hand. The question now is, will Russia seek to use the same methods again? There are two diametrically opposite points of view regarding this. One view is that Stalin will use the opportunities given by this war to convert to Socialism, willy-nilly, all countries, under Soviet occupation, Hitler and Mussolini are among the distinguished adherents of this view. The other side feels, to put it in the words of Prof. F. L. Schuman himself, that "past experience demonstrates that it (revolution) is unworkable and disastrous."

Neither of these two views seems to be wholly correct. The question of the Soviet Union's policy in spreading Socialism to other countries was hotly debated between Stalin and Trotsky in 1926. Trotsky, as we know, favoured permanent revolution, by which he meant a policy of stirring up revolution wherever possible. Stalin advanced the theory of "Socialism in one country" and declared that the proletariat of each country must make its own revolution. Stalin won and his policy still holds sway. This has been amply demonstrated in Bulgaria, Rumania and Finland where the old order has been allowed to continue. But let no one believe that the path of revolution has been abandoned. The aim still is world

revolution—not for power as so many adherents of “real politik” believe, but, in the opinion of all Marxists, for the maximum prosperity of all concerned. The method is different. It is more subtle and refined than before. Russian Communists will render all possible help to the Socialist movement outside Russia but will not, in the interests of the world revolution itself, try to force the pace or impose it from outside upon an unwilling people. Hence, it is important to understand how events are shaping the situation in the various countries in Europe.

In spite of the paucity and unreliability of news about Europe, at least this much is clear that while under German occupation almost every country developed a strong underground movement of resistance, the point to note is that everywhere peasants and workers played a leading part. The leaders were—let us face the fact—Communists or near Communists in most cases. Really this need not surprise us. In accordance with their theory, the Communists nowhere sought safety in exile, and were the first to recover from the shock of defeat, and give a definite lead to the people. It is now generally accepted that all along they have been among the most resolute and determined fighters. On the continent to-day, the word Communist has won a new respect. Let us understand that they and the people of Europe have not made all the sacrifice simply for a restoration of the old order of government by pelf, place and position, but for their elementary political, social and economic rights. To-day there is a new consciousness of their rights among the people. They will not be moved by abstract considerations of private enterprise vs. collective ownership but by the concrete fulfilment of their demand for these rights. When the old order has failed to meet this demand of the people even in Britain

and America, how can it be expected to do any better in the poorer European countries? One can now understand why there is such a strong and growing tendency towards Socialism not only in Europe but all over the world.

I venture to suggest that in Europe the change over to Socialism will come in two stages. The first of the Peoples' Governments will last till some years after the war. During this stage, governments composed of all left and even liberal parties which did not, on the whole, collaborate with the Germans and are prepared to co-operate with the Communists will be in power. No fundamental social and economic changes will be made, but those important industries which were under the control of Germans or their collaborators will be confiscated and nationalized. Traitors will be cleaned out and dealt with. Then will come the second stage of transition to socialism.

France, Italy and the Balkans are passing through the first stage at present, and Peoples' Governments can be observed in action there. The strength and position of the Communists, in particular, deserves to be carefully observed.

France has been progressing towards socialism despite imperialist obstruction because the peoples' movement is strong and well organized. The Provisional Government has promised an Assembly to decide the future constitution based on full adult suffrage. Thus, for the first time in France women will also vote. De Gaulle has declared that "the government will not allow industrial concerns or trusts which will be a burden on the nation's economy." This means that monopolies and the power of the notorious two hundred families which betrayed France in 1940 will be drastically curtailed. Already, basic industries are being nationalized.

As for organized labour, its strength is shown by the fact that out of the 14 dailies circulating in France at present, *L'humanite*, organ of the Communist Party, has a circulation of 200,000, *Le Populaire*, organ of the Social Democrats of 160,000 and the rest put together of only 120,000. In the Cabinet of 22, there are only 2 Communists and 4 Social-Democrats, but the French Forces of the Interior, which are dominated by these two parties, form the nucleus of the new army.

In the Balkans, with the exception of Greece and Yugoslavia, the peoples' movement is weak, but it has the powerful assistance of the Red Army. In Bulgaria and Rumania, it was not the strength of the left wing parties but the pressure of the Red Army which installed peoples' governments in power. The freedom to organize trade unions, the arrest of collaborationists, and the control of all means of propaganda by the Red Army are, however, gradually creating a situation favourable to the left. To-day Communists occupy important positions in both these countries. In Rumania, a Communist, Luretiu Patrascanu, is the Minister of State and Justice. In Bulgaria, where the working-class movement has always been stronger, the Minister of Interior who also controls the police, is a Communist. In the Regency Council one of the two members is a Communist too. The important point is not that Communists occupy such key-positions, but the coming together and growing strength of the Left-wing parties which that symbolizes. For, we must remember, where the left-wing parties are weak and disunited, as in Finland for instance, Peoples' Governments have not come into power at all.

In Yugoslavia and Greece the fight for Peoples' Governments was prolonged and hard. Being situated on the Mediterranean, the British government had a special interest in these countries. They took advantage of internal

difference, and gave strong backing to their own candidates—feudalist bankers and monopolists who all dreamt of the continuation of their good old way of life after the war. It was not till a few months back that representatives of the E. A. M., the strongest guerilla movement in Greece, were given a place in the Greek Government and even then trouble with them has continued. In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, the Royal Government had no other alternative but to make a virtual surrender to the guerilla forces. All real power is in the hands of Tito. He has granted "full national rights to Croatia, Serbia, Slavonia" etc., but about his attitude towards the vital question of the distribution of land among the peasants we have no information. It is reasonable to assume that being a controversial measure it will not be adopted during the first phase.

Italy suffers from the double disadvantage of having neither a strong labour movement nor being in a position to secure the help of the Soviets. Consequently, its progress has been very slow. The August issue of the 'Reader's Digest' gives interesting testimony to how the Communist movement is making rapid progress in spite of everything.

Any paper on the future of Europe would remain incomplete without a discussion about Germany. It is no use repeating that we have no information about conditions in Germany. There is an underground movement of resistance but it is so weak that there is little hope of a peoples' government coming into power that way. Yet people believe all too easily that once Hitler's regime collapses, Germany is bound to go Communist. Even Summer Wells has put forward that idea in a recent book, "The Time for Decision." In this matter the opinion of the German Communists themselves form an interesting contrast. An important German

in London, Wilhelm Koenen says, "As for those who piously hope that we could enforce pure Socialism in Germany on the morrow of taking over, they forget that the last ten years of German history have basically changed the situation in our country. . . . Fascist power has dealt German labour movement a deadening blow. We know that we have to start from scratch." And Lenin declared. "In their struggle for power, the proletariat have no other weapon but organization." Not all the German genius for organization can overcome this disadvantage for years after Hitler. There is, besides, the psychological factor of mutual hatred which has been systematically cultivated both by Fascist Germany and Communist Russia. Germany will have to purge herself by the bitter pill of defeat and foreign occupation which may last a decade before she is fit for a Peoples' Government. German prisoners of war in Russia are reported to be getting Communist minded. They may form an important factor in favour of Communism in post-war Germany, but can, at best, only shorten the transitory phases of Amgot, and Peoples' Government which will be long enough in any case to justify the statement that Germany will not go Communist after this war.

The phase of Peoples' Governments will by no means be one of even development towards Socialism. The various parties will manœuvre for position; there will be changes in alliance and tactics, and in accordance with them progress or even retrogression. Then will come the second stage—not all at once, but as the situation for it becomes ripe first in one country, then in another. There will be a tussle between the Peoples' forces backed by the Soviet Union, and the old order championed by the Anglo-Americans. It may come to a civil war, with the great powers taking sides as in Spain.

But there is a good deal of possibility that the change over will be quite peaceful. A number of factors give rise to such a hope. First, strongholds of reaction and the most die-hard elements will have been destroyed, for, by and large, they co-operated with Hitler. Then there will be powerful support of the Soviet Union which may have its hands free while the Allies are busy against Japan. Much will depend on the attitude of the Social-Democrats. If, like the Bourbons, they forget nothing and learn nothing, then the civil war that they dread may become inevitable. If, on the other hand, they maintain the united front of labour, the change-over may come about peacefully. There is ground to think that the end of the western War will see the emergence of a Balkan Soviet Socialist Federation—within the Soviet Union or outside it. In France, it will not be easy to change over, though the odds are in favour. In Italy, the chances are even both ways. Even if reaction wins a temporary victory in some places, the old order cannot long be maintained. The coming years of this century will make it the century of Socialism.